CONFESSIONS AND PROOFES OF *PROTESTANT DIVINES* OF Reformed Churches,

That EPISCOPACY is in respect of the Office according to the word of God, and in respect of the Use the *Best*.

TOGETHER

With a brief Treatise touching the Originall of BISHOPS and METROPOLITANS.

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MAY

TO
The Pious and Religious Reader,

Grace and Peace in Christ Jesus.

THe matter subject of this Treatise being yet in suspense, and to be determin'd *de futuro*, *viz.* What Ecclesiasticall Government is to be judged to be, *according to the Word of God*, in respect of the office it self, and also the *Best* in respect of its use: After that, upon more and more deliberation, I had perfected my conlusion, the saying of *Augustine* came into my mind, *He that concealeth a truth, and he that teacheth a falshood are both guilty: the first because he will not profit; the other because he intendeth to hurt and delude:* which I apprehend as a double caution, both of not publishing any Utopian Ecclesiasticall form of Government of mine own forging, as also, of not stifling, by my silence, a form truly Apostolicall.

Which Resolution, notwithstanding, I did not adventure to take, before that I was fortified in my perswasion by a general consent of Protestant Divines of reformed Churches, and among others, in some principal points appealing to the Divines of the Church of *Geneva*; Nor yet do we so much insist upon their Confessions as upon their Proofs, especially being grounded upon two infallible foundations. The first, the general verdict of Antiquity, as well Doctrinall as Historicall: Though we should not name that general Council of *Calcedon* consisting of 630 Fathers, which by one Canon decreed it to be a Sacriledge to presse down a Bishop into the degree of a Presbyter. The same Council that did also ordain another Canon, which was then the very break-neck of Romish Popedome.

2. The Authenticall Texts of Scripture ſo far as thereby to demonſtrate Chriſt his own approbation of Epiſcopal Prelacy after his Aſcenſion in the Churches of *Aſia*: in one whereof without all contradiction was one *Polycarpus* Biſhop and Martyr.

As for the Churches, whereof we are to ſpeak, the Tractate hath been undertaken in behalf of Proteſtant Churches, which practice at this day the ſame Prelacy under theſe two divers names of Epiſcopacy and Superintendency, as much exceeding the number of thoſe which are deſtitute of Biſhops, yet ſo, as juſtly condemning the Romiſh Hierarchy (rather Tyranny) poyſoned with moſt groſſe Idolatry; and not ſo onely, but ſo far oppoſite to the Epiſcopacy which we defend, that it is a falſe Uſurpation, that all Biſhops be originally deduced from the Pope, and dependant upon him. Other Churches deſtitute of Biſhops we differ from, yet not ſo (far be it from us) as not to account them eſſential Churches of Chriſt, but to whom as formerly, we do deſirouſly give the right hand of Brotherly fellowſhip; to joyn againſt the common and grand adverſary in the Romiſh *Babylon*.

Concerinng other points circumſtantial we have provided, that our Method be with coherence, our Styl plain and even, our Allegations direct and punctual, our Authors juſtly approveable, our Taxations toothleſs, and our Inferencies brief, pertinent and conſectary.

As for you (good Chriſtian Reader) his hope is, that he ſhall not need the uſe of the Apoſtles Expoſtulation, ſaying, *Am I your enemy becauſe I tell you the truth?* And his prayer to God ſhall be to protect and bleſſe you, to the glory of his ſaving Grace in Chriſt Jeſus, that he alſo will diſtribute to this our lacerated Church, ſome portion of that his peerleſſe Legacy left unto his Apoſtles, when he ſaid, *My peace I leave with you*, by vertue whereof, we may with one heart and mind faithfully worſhip God in Spirit and in Truth.



THE

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THE



The judgment of Protestant Divines, of remote Churches, as well such as were the first Reformers of Religion, as others after them in behalf of Episcopal degree in the Church.

THis they perform, both by their direct and ingenious confessions, and after by sound and solid *Proofs*, so far as to shew Episcopal Prelacy to be *According to Gods Word*, as also to acknowledge the same for use to be the *Best* kinde of Ecclesiastical Government. We are, in the first place, to try their plain *confessions* concerning the said Prelacy, as well in special, for our English, as touching Episcopacy in generall, in what Orthodox Church soever, and afterwards to adjoyn the proofs.

1. Thesis.

That our English Episcopacy hath been justified by the confession of the most learned Protestants of remote Curches, in special by the Church of Geneva.

OUr Episcopall Prelacy we are sure was profess'd, and practis'd by Bishops.

1. In the dayes of King *Edward* the *6.* who as they were the principal Authors of the *Reformation* of our Ptotestant Religion,

ligion, so did some of them seal the truth of their profession with their bloud, and have therefore been with others thus extoll'd by that golden mouth of the French Church (a) Master *Moulin* saying, *That they were for zeal nothing inferiour to the most excellent servants of God, that* Germany *or* France *ever had; which* (saith he) *none will deny is so, if not wilfully stupid and blinded in day-light.* Yea, and touching those then Archbishops and Bishops (b) *Beza* for the Church of *Geneva. It happened in our memory, that she* (speaking of our English Church) *hath had men of that calling, not onely constant Martyrs of God, but also excellent Pastours and Doctors.*

(a) *Moulin epist. ad Episc. Winton. Quorum Martyrum habemus scripta, & meminimus gesta, ac zelum, nullâ ex parte inferiorem zelo præstantissimorum Dei servorum, quos Germania, aut Gallia tulit: hoc qui negat, oportet ut sit vel improbè vecors, vel gloriæ Dei invidus, vel cerebrosâ stoliditate caliget in clara luce.*

2. In the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Calvin* the most illustrious star of the Church of *Geneva*, doubted not to instile Archbishop *Cranmer* (c) *A most accomplish'd Prelate* (saith he) *who hath the cure, not onley of* England, *but also of the whole Christian world*, which he did to the dignifying of the Government of our English Church; and no marvel, seing that he durst professe to yeild, in behalf, even of Popish Bishops, upon condition, that renouncing the dependance upon the Pope, and acknowledgment of Christ as their onely Head, with profession of his *Truth* (d). *Then shall we professe all them* (saith he) *who shall not reverently and willingly submit to their Government, to be worthy of whatsoever Anathema or curse.* So he, even in his Tractate of Reformation of the Church, at what time also *Beza* after his congratulating the restitution of our Protestant Religion in *England*, earnestly desired the whole Clergy under the Government of *Grindal* then

(b) *Bezæ Respons. ad Sarav. de Minist. gradibus, c. 18. p. 303. Quod si nunc Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ instauratæ suorum Episcoporum & Archiepiscoporum authoritate suffulta præstant, quemadmodum hoc illi nostrâ memoriâ contigit, ut ejus ordinis homines non tantum insignes Dei Martyres, sed etiam præstantissimos Pastores, ac Doctores habuerit.* (c) *Calvin epist. Cranmero, Te præsertim (Ornatissime Præsul) qui altiori in specula sedes, in hanc curam incumbere necesse est. Scio non ita unius Angliæ haberi abs te rationem quin universo orbi consulas.* (d) *Calvin. tom. 7. ad Sadoletum, & de necessitate reformandæ Ecclesiæ, p. 69. Verum talem nobis si contribuant Hierarchiam in quâ emineant Episcopi, ut Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab illo tanquam ab unico capite pendeant, & ad ipsum referantur, in quâ si fraternam charitatem inter se colant, & non alio modo quam ejus veritate collegati, tum vero nullo non Anathemate dignos fatemur si qui erunt, qui eam non reverenter & summâ cum obedientia observent.*

Bishop



Biſhop of *London*, to (e) *ſubmit* unto him, holding him *worthy of much puniſhment who ſhould deſpiſe his Authority.* Yea, and ſo well did he approve of the then Government by Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, as to wiſh *it might be perpetual unto them.* † *Sadell* likewiſe, who is ſufficiently commended by his excellent writings in defence of the Proteſtant Religion, did joyn together with *Beza* in an Apology to vindicate themſelves from a ſiniſter report, as if they had detracted from the Right of Government by Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, *avouching the ſame aſperſion to have been a moſt impious ſlander.* And (f) *Biſhop Jewell*, how was he honoured by *Peter Martyr*, calling him *A moſt renowned Prelate*; and by *Sibbrandus* * *Lubbartus*, entitling him *The Ornament, not onely of* England, *but alſo of the whole world?*

(g) *Hierom Zanchee*, one in the opinion of our Oppoſites (we doubt not) worthily renowned, in his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, *he exhorteth her Majeſty with an imprimis, and eſpecially to extend her care, power and authority, to have godly Biſhops, skilfull in holy Scriptures, of which ſort* (ſaith he) *by the bleſſing of God you have already very many: and to cheriſh and hear them.* (h) Alſo in his Epiſtle to Arch-biſhop *Grindall*, upon occaſion of his remove to *Canterbury*, he expreſſeth his joy for that acceſſe of *dignity*, *as a teſtimony of Gods love towards him, and a means whereby he might more and more promote Gods true Religion.* Our Oppoſites ought not to be offended with us, although we offer unto them next an Author, ſomewhat diſtaſtfull unto them at the firſt hearing,

(e) *Beza ad Grindal. Epiſt.* 23. *ut omnibus præſulibus ſuis ex animo obſequantur: majori pœna digni ſunt qui Authoritatem Tuam aſpernabuntur. Idem rurſus ad Sarav.* upon the conſideration of the Government by Arch-biſhops and Biſhops. *Fruantur ſane iſtâ Dei beneficentiâ, quæ utinam ſit illi nationi perpetua.*

† This is cited by the Author of the Survey of the pretended holy diſcipline, &c. *Beza apud Sarav. de Miniſt. gradibus. p.* 343. *c.* 21. *Nedum, ut quod falſiſſimè & impudentiſſimè nonnulli nobis objiciunt cuiquam uſpiam Eccleſiæ ſequendum noſtrum peculiare exemplum præſcribamus, imperitiſſimorum illorum ſimiles, qui nihil niſi quod ipſi agunt, rectum putant.*

(f) *Pet. Martyr Epiſt. præfix. Juelli Apol. Ampliſſime Præſul, & Domine mihi quotidie etiam atque etiam obſervande.* * *Sibrand. contra Grotium p.* 183. *citatus à Nicholao Videlio. lib. de Epiſcopat. Conſtantini magni p.* 25. (g) *Zanchius in Epiſt. ad Elizab. Anglia Regin. Cogitet Tua Majeſtas in hoc omnem Tuam curam, potentiam & authoritatem intendere, ut imprimis Epiſcopos habeas pios, & in Sacris literis eruditos, ſicut Dei beneficio habes quamplurimos, eoſque foveas & audias.* (h) *Idem Epiſt. Edmund Grindallo Epiſcop. non poſſum non gratulari novam & ampliſſimam dignitatem: quoniam iſta ſunt divinæ benedictionis Teſtimonia & conſtantiæ Tuæ in Deum pietatis, quâ ejus beneficentiâ cura Tua magis magiſque in verâ Religione & pietate promoveri poſſit.*

namely (*i*) D. *Saravia*, becauſe as he is a Religious Divine: and as un-Epiſcopall as any other, ſo alſo is he as Orthodox, every-where, as they know, inveighing againſt the Romiſh Hierarchie; he confeſſeth himſelf to *wonder* at the wiſdome of the Reformers of Religion in *England*, *So as not any where deviating from the antient Church of Chriſt*; and concludeth with this Epiphonema, ſaying, *I hold it a part of her happineſs that ſhe hath retained with her the order of Biſhops.*

(*i*) *Saravia de Miniſt. gradibus in Epiſt. ad Lectorem. Sæpe miratus ſum eorum ſapientiam, qui Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ reſtituerunt divinum cultum, & ita ſe attemperárunt ut nuſquam deceſsiſſe ab antiquâ & priſcâ Eccleſiæ conſuetudine reprehendi poſſint Et in Epiſt. Dedicatoriâ. In parte fœlicitatis Regni Anglicani numerandum eſt, quòd hunc Ordinem Epiſcoporum retinet.*

3. In the raigne of King *James*, that famous (*k*) *Iſaack Caſaubon*, whom we reckon as the fourth witneſſe from the Church of *Geneva*, had that eſtimation of our Engliſh Epiſcopall government, as to confeſſe, *That no Church doth come nearer the form of the primitive Church, then it doth: ſo farre that even they who envyed her happineſſe, are notwithſtanding conſtrained to extoll it.* He proceeds furthermore to blazon the worthineſſe of it. *If* (ſaith he) *the eſſentiall part of the Church be enquired into, and what either neceſſarily belongeth unto the Doctrine of Salvation, or elſe to the decency of the Church, then* (*prayſed and magnified be God*) *no Church upon earth can be found, which more profeſſeth the faith, and reſembleth the form of the antient Catholique Church, then it doth.* So he.

(*k*) *Iſaac Caſaub. Regem alloquens, in præfat. ad exercit. Qui Eccleſiam habeas in Tuis regnis partim jam olim ita inſtitutam, partim magnis Tuis laboribus ita inſtauratam ut ad florentis quondam Eccleſiæ formam nulla hodie propius accedat, quàm Tua: inter, vel exceſſu, vel defectu peccantes, median viam ſequuta. Quæ moderatione hoc primum aſſecuta eſt Eccleſia Anglicana, ut illi ipſi qui ſuam fœlicitatem invident, ſæpè tamen ex aliarum comparatione illam cogantur laudare. Idem Epiſt. ad Card. Beron. Reg. Brit. nomine ſed ex animi quoque ſui ſententia, Certo ac liquido mihi conſtat, ſi notæ στιγμαὶ quærantur, & verè neceſſaria ad Salutem ſpectentur, ut etiam ad decorum Eccleſiæ, nullam in orbe terrarum (Deo uni ſit laus & gloria) inventam, quæ propiùs ad fidem, aut ſpeciem antiquæ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ accedat, &c.* * *Maſter Moulin in his Buckler of Faith. p. 271.*

But to return to our French witneſſe again: worthy * Maſter *Moulin*, in an anſwer to a Papiſt, who upbraided him with the diſcipline of *England*, doth avouch the dignity thereof, telling him furthermore, *That their agreement is ſuch, that* England (ſaith he) *hath been a refuge to our perſecuted Churches, and correſpondently the excellenteſt ſervants of God in our Churches, as* Peter Martyr, Calvin, Beza, *and* Zanchee,

have

have often written Letters full of respect and amity to the Prelates of England. So he.

Lastly, now under our Gracious Soveraigne King *Charles* in the time of Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, Whose daily experience did testifie the reciprocall correspondence between him, and with other Bishops and all reformed Churches beyond the Sea. At what time likewise *Cyrill*, late Greek Patriarch of *Constatinople*, did so farre honour both him and our English Church, as to professe his accordance therewith, more specially then with any other. And if our Bishops of later date had not been respected, then surely would not the Divines about *Breme* in *Germany* have sent their controversies had among themselves, onely unto certain Bishops in *England* (as they did) to have them moderated by their judgements, not to speak of their dedications of some of their Books unto Bishops. These last Relations nothing, but the importunity of these times, could have extorted from us. Thus much of particular respects had in speciall to our English Episcopall Government, by singular approved Divines of the reformed Protestant Churches. In the next place, as the thread of our method leadeth us, we are to examine what they will say touching the unlawfulnesse, or lawfulness thereof in generall.

II. THESIS.

That there was never any visibly constituted Church in all Christendome since the Apostles time for 1500. *years and more, which held Episcopacy in it self to be unlawfull.*

WE are not ignorant that even at this time, all Episcopacy, and Prelacy of any one above Presbyterie, is cryed down by some as unlawfull in it self, notwithstanding our Opposites cannot but know what, besides *Epiphanius*, Saint *Augustine* recorded of one *Aerius*, to wit, that he, *because he could not obtain to be made a Bishop, did therefore teach that there ought to be no difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop*. So he: and for that cause they listed him among the erroneous Authors of that Age, but (he being excepted) never

August de Aerio lib. de Hæres. cap. 53. Quia non potuit Episcopus ordinari, dicebat Presbyterum ab Episcopo nullâ differentiâ debere discerni.

never any visible Church of Christ before him, we adde, nor yet any thus protested after him, nor before these dayes of contradiction defended his opinion. Now whether the humour of desire to rule others, and the unwillingnesse to be subject unto others, may not equally transport some Ecclesiasticks to oppose against Episcopacy, they can best judge whom it most concernes. We know (beside infinite others, who have acknowledged the lawfulnesse of Episcopacy) some protestant Divines of remote Churches, who have fully condemn'd the opinion of *Aerius*. Three may suffice for three hundred if they be learned and judicious Authors, and not interested in that which is now called Episcopall policy. (*a*) Master *Moulin* commeth on roundly: *I have since my infancy* (saith he) *abhorr'd the opinion of* Aërius. (*b*) *Tylenus* also a Divine of the French Church as pertinently and plainly. *None ever before* Aërius *endeavoured the extirpation of Episcopacy, nor yet after him any, but some of* Geneva. What *some* he might meane we know not, but whom he might not meane we have already shewn, as *Calvin, Beza, Sadle,* and *Causabon*, who have given their ample suffrages for our English Episcopacy, but only speak against the Romish Hierarchie: And now, for the generality of it, (*c*) *Beza* is again at hand, saying, *If there be any, as I think* (saith he) *there is not, who altogether reject the Episcopall Order, God forbid that any of sound brains should ever assent to their furies*: and besides, protesteth his *acknowledged observance, and all reverence to all Bishops reformed.* Hitherto against the objected unlawfulnesse of Episcopacy in the Church of Christ. But this will not satisfie some men, except furthermore the lawfulnes thereof may appear in that degree which is called in respect of its right, *According to the Word of God.* It belongeth unto us to shew this by the *Confession* of Divines of remote Protestant Churches, which we are ready to performe, and more too.

(a) *Mr Moulin in Epist. 2 ad Episc. Winton. Ab incunabulis Aërium damnavi.*

(b) *Tylenus in paræneſ. Ante Aërium de Episcopis exautorandis nemo, post Aërium solum Genevenses studebant.*

(c) *Beza de Minist. gradibus. p. 2. Si qui sunt (quod sanè mihi non facilè persuaseris) qui omnem Episcopatûs Ordinem, ut Tu scribis, rejiciunt, absit ut quisquam sanæ mentis furoribus illorum assentiatur. Idem si modò deformatam domum Dei adamussim ex verbi divini Regulâ pro viribus instaurarent, ut Ecclesiæ Christianæ fidos pastores, cur non agnoscamus? observemus? & omni Reverentiâ prosequamur?*

III. THESIS

III. THESIS.

That Epiſcopal Prelacy is acknowledged by Proteſtant Divines of remote Churches to be according to the Word of God, and their conſent therein unto Primitive Antiquity.

LUther may well be allowed for the fore-man amongſt the Reformers of the Proteſtant Religion, who proveth the Prelacy of Epiſcopacy *above ſimple Presbyters* (for ſo he ſaith) by *Divine Right*; and this he doth in his Tractate called his Reſolution, grounding his judgment upon Scripture, whereof hereafter. Accordingly *Bucer*, againſt the Pope as Anti-Chriſt: (b) *We ſee* (ſaith he) *by their perpetual obſervation of Churches, and from the Apoſtles themſelves, that it ſeemed good to the holy Ghoſt that ſome ſingular one ſhould be appointed among the Presbyters to Govern in ſo ſacred an Order, who hath for the ſame cauſe, the Appellation of Biſhop in Scripture.* *Scultetus* the Divine, Profeſſour at *Heidelberg*, *profeſſing Epiſcopal degree to be of divine Right*, and profeſſeth to prove it to be ſuch *by efficacious reaſons*, who in the ſequell of his diſcourſe will be as good as his word; with whom agreeth that admirable Schollar (c) *Iſaac Caſaubon*, the ornament of *Geneva*, who held the ſame to be grounded upon the *Teſtimonies of Scriptures*. Theſe may ſerve for the preſent till we come to a larger conſent.

All theſe, and other the former confeſſions of Proteſtant Divines, are the proper idiom and language of primitive Antiquity, teaching thus. *Epiſcopacy is by the Ordination of Chriſt.*

Luther. tom. 1. fol. 309. Reſolut. ejus ſuper propoſitionibus Lypſiæ diſputationibus habitis, concluſio. Probo quamlibet civitatem habere debere Epiſcopum proprium jure divino, quod ex Paulo ad Titum oſtendo, dicente hujus rei gratiâ, reliqui te Cretæ, ut quæ deſunt corrigas, ut conſtituas ſimplices Presbyteros per civitates ſicut ego diſpoſui tibi, Hos autem Presbyteros fuiſſe Epiſcopos. Hieron. & textus ſequens oſtendit, dicens, oportet Epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem eſſe. (b) *Bucer, de Regno Chriſti lib. 2 cap. 12. Ex perpetuâ Eccleſiarum obſervatione ab ipſis Apoſtolis videmus viſum hoc eſſe ſpiritui Sancto, ut inter Presbyteros unus Eccleſiarum & totius Sacri Miniſterii gerat curam ſingulorum, & cunctis præerat aliis quâ de cauſâ Epiſcopi nomen hujuſmodi Eccleſiarum Curatoribus eſt peculiariter attributum: tametſi hi ſine Presbyterorum conſilio nihil ſtatuere debuerant qui & ipſi propter hanc communem Eccleſiarum ad miniſt. rationem Epiſcopi in Scripturis vocantur.* (c) *Iſaac Caſaubon, Exercit. Epiſcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi apertis Scripturæ teſtimoniis ſunt fundati. Ibid. Apoſtolorum hodie vicarii ſunt, etſi non pari poteſtate cum Apoſtolis omnes Epiſcopi, ut è B. Cypriano antea dicebamus Exercit. 14. Cyprian, Ep. 65. Apoſtolis vicariâ ordinatione ſuccedere Epiſcopos.*

So

So (*d*) *Ignatius*: and again, (*e*) *Reverence your Bishop as Christ and the Apostles have commanded you.* Or thus, *To be a divine power, the resistance whereof is against God himself*: So *Cyprian.* And thus, *God placed Bishops over His family*: So (*f*) *Origen.* And thus, *The Apostles were made Bishops by Christ, who ordained others (meaning Bishops) in other places, by whom the Church should be govern'd*: (*g*) So *Augustine.* Or thus, (*h*) *Bishops constituted over Presbyters, as the Word of God teacheth*: So *Epiphanius.* And thus, (*i*) *None can be ignorant that Bishops were instituted by Christ when he made His Apostles, by whom others should be made Bishops, whom we succeed, and (speaking of Bishops) of whom Christ said, he that despiseth you despiseth me*: So again *Augustine.*

Before we end this point we shall desire our Oppolites to bethink themselves what they think may signifie the suffrages of the Fathers of the Synod of *Calcedon*, for *Antiquity*, one of the first four Generall, and in this *generality* universally receiv'd throughout Christendom, for *amplitude* consisting of six hundred and thirty Bishops, and for *averseneſſe* against the Pope of *Rome*, that which undermin'd the very foundation of Romish Popedom, which is a pretence of having been established by the divine Authority of Christ the universall Bishop of the Church, and equalling another Patriarch with him, and shewing that all the Primacy which the Pope of *Rome* had, was but from humane Authority. This (*k*) Councell concerning Episcopacy ordain'd, that *To depose a Bishop down to the degree of a Presbyter, is Sacriledge.*

This so great a Harmony, between the former Protestant Divines, and those eminent Fathers, how shall it not sound delightfull unto every docible and unpreoccupated hearer? These confessions notwithstanding, we have not discharg'd

(d) *Ignatius illam formam Episcopalem* Διατάξιν τῦ Θεῦ *Teste Sculteto in Titum.*

(e) *Cyprian Epist. 65, ad Rogat. Quod si nos aliquid facere contra Deum audemus, qui Episcopos facit; Et Epist. 27. ad Lapsi. cum igitur divinâ lege fundata sit &c. Epist. ad Cornel. Ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimem ac divinam potestatem.*

(f) *Origen, tract. in Mat. 31. cognoscunt Episcopi quod hoc non vos salvat, quod constituit eos Dominus super familiam ejus, &c.*

(g) *August. in quæstion. veter. & novi Testamen. pag. 97. Nemo ignorat Salvatorem nostrum Episcopos instituisse, quando Apostoli facti sunt, qui missi sunt ut mittere possint alios; ipse enim imprimis Apostolis instituit Episcopos.* (h) *Epiphanius adversus Aërium* Θεῖος λόγος διδάσκει *De Hæresi. 75.* (i) *August. lib. 7. contra Donatist. cap. 42. De Apostolis à Christo missis, quibus nos successimus eadem potestate Ecclesiam Dei gubernantes: & de Verb. Domini Serm. 24. Qui vos spernit, me spernit &c.* (k) *Concil. Calced. Can. 29.* Τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τὸν βαθμὸν πρεσβυτέρου φέρειν Ἱεροσυλία ἐστί.

our

our Assumption, untill we produce their proofes, which is to be perform'd according to our former promise, after that we shall manifest the like *confessions* of Protestant Divines and accordance to Antiquity, in acknowledging Episcopacy to be the best forme of Government in respect of the use thereof.

IV. THESIS.

That Episcopall Government in the Church, is, in respect of the necessary use thereof, the best *by the consent of Protestant Divines of other reformed Churches.*

SOme peradventure will conceive, that *three* at the least being required in the degree of comparison, to make up a *best*: Therefore our three must be taken either for *Episcopacy*, which is a Prelacy of one above more; or *Presbytery*, which is an equality of moe among themselves; or that which is called an *Independency*, of one in each Parish without relation to any other. Which mis-begotten brat was never heard of in ancient times, or approv'd of any latter Church of Christ since; and indeed is but the erecting of a Pope in every Parish, whereof something * hereafter. It will be sufficient that we understand a *best* in the full latitude with comparison of whatsoever other.

* See hereafter.

Our Protestant Witnesses we ranke into two Classes; First is the Church of the *Lutherans*, who were the first Reformers of our *Protestant Religion*. (a) If our Reader will be pleased but to cast his eye upon the Marginalls, he may find out these following observables, *viz.* that *Luther* will be known, when he complained of Bishops, to have meant *over tyrannous (Popish) Bishops, and them,* (as he saith) *who are unworthy of the*

(a) *Luther; tom. 2 fol. 307. Plus illis tribuo quàm merentur, qui eos tam sancto & veteri nomine dignor. Lupos enim & canes appellare oportet, & fol. 320. Nemo contra statum Episcoporum, & veros Episcopos vel bonos pastores dictum putet quicquid contra hos Tyrannos dicitur. Apol. Confess. Aug. cap. de numero & usu Sacramenti. Nos sæpe protestati sumus summâ cum voluntate conservare Politiam Ecclesiasticam & gradus in Ecclesiâ factos etiam summâ authoritate. lib 4 cap. Protestant. de unitat. Eccles. ut schismata vitarentur accessit utilis ordinatio ut ex multis Presbyteris eligeretur Episcopus qui regeret Ecclesiam docendo Evangelium & retinendo Disciplinam, ut præesset Presbyteris, &c.*

Holy

Holy name of Bishop; next, that all Protestant Churches of *Germany* in their generall Confessions, *had* (as they say) *often protested their earnest desire to conserve the discipline of degrees in the Church by the Authority of Bishops, whereby to remove dissentions and Schismes from the Church*, then that (*b*) *Melancthon, by the perswasion of Luther*, was as much bent for Episcopall Government as any, when he burst out into this expression; *I would to God it lay in me to restore the Government of Bishops, for I see what a Church we shall have, the Ecclesiasticall Policy being dissolv'd, I foresee it will be far more intolerable then ever it was.* There is added to this the acknowledgment of *Bucer*; *holding it necessary, that the Clergy have those* (speaking of Bishops) *to whom the Authority of the Church is committed*: His reason, *least that refractory and dissolute persons should be in the Church.* Prince *Hanolt*, after he became a sincerely profes'd Protestant and faithfull Preacher of the Gospel, speaking of Bishops, that would be faithfull in Governing the Church: (*c*) *How willingly, and with what gladnesse of heart, would we* (saith he) *reverence, obey, and yeeld them their ordination and jurisdiction, the which we and* Luther *have very often protested, both by word and writing.*

We now passe unto the other Classes of Protestant Divines, of Reformed Churches, beginning with *Calvin* himself, who hath a double intuition concerning Presbyteriall Government. One as it may be considered is in an Independency; so that every one have *a Right of excommunication in himself*: (*d*) this he calleth, *unprofitable, odious, and such as easily turneth*

(b) *Phil. Melanct Hist conf. Aug. pag. 365. Teste Sarav. de Minist. gradibus cap. 16. Quanquam ut ego quod censeã dicam, utinam possem administrationem restituere Episcoporum. Video enim qualem simus habituri Ecclesiam dissolutã politiã Ecclesiasticã Video postea futuram Tyrannidem multò intolerabiliorem, quàm unquam fuit, nihil concessimus præter ea Lutherus censuit esse reddenda. Melanchon citat Bucerum disciplin. cleric. quia omnino necesse est ut Clerici suos habeant Curatores atque Custodes instaurandos, ut Episcoporum, ita & Archiepiscorum, aliorumque omnium; quibuscunque nominibus censeantur potestas & animadversio, ne quis omnino sit in hoc ordine à quovis.* (c) *Georgius Princ. Anholt. Concion. In præfat. de Ordinatione Teste Saravia pag. 267. utinam sicut gerunt nomina & titulos, ita se reipsa præstarent Episcopos. Si fideliter Ecclesias regerent, quàm libenter, quantâque cordis lætitiâ, pro Episcopis ipsos habere, revereri, morem gerere, debitam jurisdictionem & ordinationem eis facere, eâque sine ulla recusatione frui vellemus.* (d) *Calvinus Epist. ad Gasparum Magnum utile fuit jus excommunicandi permitti singulis pastoribus, nunc ea res odiosa est, & facilis est lapsus in Tyrannidem, & Apostoli alium usum tradiderunt.*

turneth into Tyranny, and contrary to that which the Apostles taught. Next beholding them in a joynt parity, he relateth the reason of the first beginning of Episcopacy, and saith truely, (e) *that by the parity and equality among Presbyters,* (*as it useth to be*) *Schismes and dissentions might arise among them.* This Parenthesis [*as it useth to be*] which he inserteth, certainly hath in it a sting, which pierceth into the Bowells of the cause. Successour to *Calvin* was *Beza*, who thus far succeedeth him also in his opinion, as (f) to confesse (as he saith) from experience, this of the Presbyterian Government, *that it being not sufficient to repress vices, choice was made of one to Governe the rest, as was observed anciently* (saith he) *from the Evang.* Mark *in the famous Church of Alexandria*: Again, speaking of the institution of Episcopacy, whatsoever it was, he *will be known to abhore and reprehend it, as erected by pride:* but why? *for none can deny* (saith he) *but that there was great use of it whilst that goodly and Godly Bishops were chief over others.*

We may well presume (as was said) that the other part of the misquoted sentence of *Zanchie* is extant in some Impression of his Works, wherein he did so symbolize with the forecited Sentence of *Calvin*, (g) *Testifying before God* (for these are the words) *that he holdeth them Schismaticks, who shall determine, that in the restauration of Churches there ought to be no Bishops, having authority over Presbyters, where freely they may be had.* He proceedeth furthermore, *I think with* Calvin saith he, *them to be worthy of whatsoever* Anathema, *who will not*

(e) *Calv. instit. lib 4. cap. 2. & Tom. 7. fol. 218. Presbyterum in suo numero ex singulis civitatibus unum eligebant, cui specialiter titulum Episcopi dabant, ne ex æqualitate ut fieri solet, dissidia nascerentur.*

(f) *Beza de diverse. Ministrorum gradibus cap. 23. apud Sarav. p. 386. Ipsa tandem experientiâ compertum fuisse, non satis virium eos habuisse ad improbos compescendos; communicata viz. singulis pastoribus per vices hujus Primatûs dignitate: Ergo visum fuit ad unum, & illum quidem totius Presbyterii judicio, delectum transferre, quod certè reprehendi non debet, cum præsertim vetustus hic mos fuit in Alexandrinâ Ecclesiâ, jam inde à Marco Evangelistâ observatus esset, & rursus. Absit ut hunc Ordinem, etsi merâ divina dispositione non constitutum, tamen aut ut temerè, aut superbè inventum reprehendam, cujus potiùs magnum usum fuisse, quandiu boni & Sancti Episcopi Ecclesiis præfuerunt, quis inficiari possit?*

(g) *Citat per Petrum Moulin: filium Hieron. Zanch. Thesibus de vera reformandarum Ecclesiarum ratione. Testor me coram Deo in mea conscientia non alio habere loco quàm Schismaticorum illos omnes, qui in parte Reformationis Ecclesiarum ponunt nullos habere Episcopos, qui authoritatis gradu suos compresbyteros emineant, ubi liquido possint haberi. Præterea cum D. Calv. nullo non Anathemate dignos censeo, quotquot illi Hierarchiæ, quæ se Domino Jesu submittit, subjici nolunt.*

be subject to their Government, which submitteth it self to Christ; So he. Furthermore concerning the testimonies, as I may so say, of Ecclesiasticall Government, (h) *Zanchie* confessed Episcopacy to have been ordained for the best end, to wit, the edification of the Elect. The sentence of *Calvin* hath been formerly alleadged; Unto these we adde the saying of the proloquutour in the Synod of *Dort*, who is rendred unto us, by them that heard him, to have *wished, that the Church with them were so happy as our English, by having an Episcopall Government among them.* This case was so evident to a late Advocat for Presbyters, *Salmasius* by name, that although he reluctteth justly against an irregular Prelacy, yet doth he freely and ingenuously grant, *that (i) the preferring of one Bishop in every Church, was instituted with best reasons.*

Would any see more? Then he is to observe the Protestation made by the German Divines in the Augustane confession, protesting their desire *for the conservation of Episcopacy*; whereof it is testified by a (k) Theologicall professour, that other Protestants were ready to subscribe to the Augustane Confession, (*per omnia*) excepting only the Article of the *Eucharist*, because it was not clearly explain'd: among these Protestants he names *Calvin, Beza, Vermilius, Marlorat* and *Zanchius*, which probably could not have been altogether true, if they had been adversaries to the foresaid Protestation.

Before we can conclude, we return to *Geneva* to be satisfied in a main question; which is, whether the forme of Government in *Geneva* ought to be perscribed as a patterne to other Reformed Churches to be regulated thereby: And

(h) *Zanchius pag. 7. in suâ Confessione. Quid certius ex historiis, ex conciliis, ex omnium patrum scriptis, quàm illos Ministrorum Ordines, de quibus dicimus cum totius Reipubl. Christiana consensu in Ecclesia constitutos & receptos fuisse? Quis autem ego sum qui quod tota Ecclesiâ approbat improbem? neque omnes docti viri nostri temporis improbare ausi sunt, quippe quod norunt & licuisse hæc Ecclesia, & ex pietate atque ad optimos fines pro ædificatione electorum ea omnia fuisse perfecta & ordinata: quid quod in Ecclesiis Protestantium non desunt Episcopi.* (i) *Wallo, alias Salmasius lib. de Episc. p. 413 Episcopus Ecclesiis regendis unicus præpositus est qui & Presbyteris pluribus unius Ecclesiæ præsset. Bono fine hoc institutum esse nemo negat, cum optima ratio fuerit ita instituendi.* (k) *Conradus Vorstius in Apol. Pro Eccles. Orthodox: de Augustan. Confess. pag. 285. in Colloquio Posniaceno Augustanæ confessioni per omnia se subscribere paratos esse, testati sunt præterquam Articulo doctrinæ de Eucharistiâ, utpote obscuriùs positâ.*

when

when we consult with (*l*) *Beza* about this very point, he telleth us, that this opinion was imparted to their Church, but in the name of the whole Church of *Geneva* rejecteth it as *a most false and impudent* exprobration. After this comparison made by weight and ponderation, we seek to try what may be done by computation and numbring.

(l) *Beza* c. 21. pag. 343. apud *Sarav. Quod falsissimè & impudentissimè nonnulli nobis objiciunt, cuiquam uspiam Ecclesiæ sequendum nostrum peculiare exemplum præscribamus, imperitissimorum illorum similes, qui nihil, nisi quod ipsi agant, rectum putant.*

V. Thesis.

That the most Protestant Churches do professe and practise a Prelacy over Presbyters.

MAny now look upon our English Bishops as birds upon owles, yet not peradventure so, as they for strangeness or for reverence; but with left eyes in an opinion of singularity and onelinesse, as a thing not acknowledged in other remote and reformed Churches of Protestants; not considering what hath been published to the world long-ago, that the word *Superintendent* is of the same signification with the word *Bishop*: both from the same Greek, Ἐπίσκοπος. Yet some Protestant Churches practising a Prelacy, vail it over with the word *Superintendency*: If we would know what, (*a*) *Zanchie* will speak out and to the purpose, in telling us *that Episcopi* (whom we call Bishops) *and Superintendents, are words of the same sense and signification: and therefore where there is an agreement in the thing signified, there ought not to be any altercation and strife about words.* But what will he say to the practice? He distinguisheth Protestant Churches in this respect into three differences, some whereof practise a superiority of one above the Clergy under the proper name of *Bishops*; an-

(a) *Zanchius in suâ confessione, fuit mihi præterea habenda ratio illarum etiam Ecclesiarum, quæ licet Evangelium complexæ sint, suos tamen, & re & nomine habuerunt Episcopos, quos (mutatis bonis græcis nominibus in malè Latina) vocant Superintendentes & Generales Superintendentes; sed etiam ubi neque vetera illa bona Græca neque hæc nova male Latina verba obtinent, ibi tamen solent esse aliquot primarii, penes quos fere tota est Authoritas. Sed cum de rebus convenit quid de nominibus altercamur? Teste Sarav. de Ministrorum gradibus, c. 23. p. 365.*

other sort the same, but under the name of *Superintendents* and *General Superintendents*, whom we call *Arch-bishops*. Lastly, he discloseth a third kinde, (*a circumstance very remarkeable*) who although they avoid the Titles of Bishops or Superintendents, yet use they to be such *primarii*, as to say, *eminent in Prelacy*, as in whom (for so he saith) *the whole Authority consisteth*. Now therefore our question must be, whether the Church exercising Prelacy, or the other that onely practise equality, exceed in number.

The number of Churches, which had Prelates under the name of Bishops, and the other of Superintendents (being in signification the same) seemed to *Greg. de Valentia*, the Jesuite, so many, that he thought all Protestant Churches to have Bishops.

An excellent servant of God Doctor *Duræus*, and a zealous hunter after the best game, which is, *the general peace of Protestant Churches among themselves*, hath set down a Catalogue of the Churches reform'd on both Parties, and reckoneth (if he be not mistaken) seven Bishops in the Kingdom of *Swede*: in *Denmark* Bishops, in other Lutheran Churches Superintendents, and in all Imperial Cities among the Protestants, besides divers other reform'd Churches the like; which we suppose will rather keep their conformity with *England*, then tast new wine with others, seing that, as the Text saith, * *The old is better*: and whether the Episcopal form be not the onely and Apostolical, cometh now to be discussed by inquiring into Antiquity.

* Luke 5. 39.

VI. THESIS.

That the former reasons of Confessions of Protestant Divines, concerning the necessity of Episcopal Prelacy, for preservation of concord and preventing of schisme, is correspondent to the judgment of Antiquity.

IT would be worth our knowledge to understand, that the former Confessions of Protestant Divines are, in effect, but the

the ecchoings unto the ſentences of ancient Fathers. Among whom, *Hierome* could tell us, (a) *That the original of Epiſcopacy* (which is the placing of one Presbyter in a degree above others) *was decreed throughout the whole world, for taking away Schiſme:* which uſe thereof was held ſo neceſſary in the dayes of Antiquity, that the ſaid *Hierome* ſpared not to affirm, (b) *That the ſafety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of a Biſhop, to whom, except ſome eminent Authority be given, there will be as many Schiſmes as there are Prieſts in the Church.* So he, and before him *Tertullian* thus, (c) *The Biſhop is for the honour of the Church, which being in ſafety, our peace will be alſo ſafe.* But how (d) *Chryſoſtome* and *Gregory Nyſſen* do illuſtrate, both affirming the ſame neceſſity of a Biſhop in the Church, *as is a Precentor in a Quire, a Governour in a Campe, and a Pilot in a Ship.* By which Epiſcopal order (ſaith (e) *Baſil*) the Church is reduced as one ſoul into communion and concord: yea and before all theſe; (f) *Cyprian* Biſhop and Martyr, complained of ſuch inſolencies of Preſbyters againſt their Biſhops, as being *cauſes of hereſies and ſchiſmes againſt a divine power of Government.* So he; Theſe, will ſome ſay, are but their ſayings, and ſhall we therefore think that their ſayings were not the ſymbolls and expreſſions of their meaning; but we preſume better of them that are ingenuous, and the rather for their further ſatisfaction which may be had in the next Theſis.

(a) *Hieron in Epiſt. ad Evag.* *Omnes Epiſcopi (ubicunque ſunt locorum) Succeſſores ſunt Apoſtolorum. Ad Evagr. Quod poſteà unus eſt electus, quæ præponeretur cæteris, in Schiſmatis remedium factum eſt, ne quiſquam ad ſe trahens Eccleſiam Chriſti corrumpat.*

(b) *Hieron. adverſ. Lucif. Eccleſiæ ſalus ex ſummi Sacerdotis dignitate pẽdet, cui niſi exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens detur poteſtas, tot in Eccleſiâ efficientur Schiſmata quot Sacerdotes.*

(c) *Tertull. lib. de Baptiſmo, Epiſcopus propter Eccleſiæ honorem, quo ſalvo ſalva eſt Pax.* (d) *Nyſſen. Hom. in Eccleſiaſt. ut Chorus ad Coriphæum reſpicit, nempè ſuum ductorem, nauta ad Gubernatorem & Acies ad Imperatorem; ita etiam ad Eccleſiam qui præſunt in cœtu Eccleſiæ. Chryſoſtom. orat. in dicta Apoſtoli,* Omnia in gloriam Dei. *Quemadmodum Chorus Præcentorem, & nautarum multitudo Gubernatorem requirit, ſic & Sacerdotem cœtus Pontificem, &c.* (e) *Baſil. in Epiſt. ad Eccleſ. Ai. de Epiſcopis Membra Eccleſiæ hâc dignitate tanquam unâ quadam animâ in concordiam, & communionem reducantur.* (f) *Cyprian. Epiſt. Unde Hæreſes, unde Schiſmata, niſi quòd Sacerdoti dei non obtemperent, qui eſt loco Chriſti Judex. Idem Epiſt. 55. Actum eſt de Epiſcopatûs vigore, & de Eccleſiæ gubernandæ ſublimi ac divinâ poteſtate, &c.* (where he ſpeaketh of himſelf, and not of the Biſhop of Rome.)

VII. THESIS.

VII. THESIS.

That Bishops primitively were not only the chiefest champions for the Christian faith, but also the greatest adversaries to Romish Popedome, as have also our English.

BEfore we can begin the proof of this Thesis, we are confronted by our Opposites against Primitive Fathers in strange termes, *Bishops by advancing the authority of Episcopacy did thereby* (say they) *but plead their own cause, and made a stirrop for the Romish Antichrist to mount into his Pontificall saddle.* So they. Which contumely against the reverend antiquity, we are loath to call by its proper name; being therefore not to reprove others, but to prove what we have in hand, which is that some of the ancient Bishops lived in the torrid zone of fiery persecution, and others in a temperate. Of the first sort we have it confessed, That the persecuting Emperours did, above all others, make their Inquisition and exercises of their furies most especially upon Bishops; we have it upon record in *Cyprian*, but much more in other Ecclesiasticall Historics, wherein, as is confessed by (*a*) Master *Brightman*, *although* Diocletian *in his Edict, did especially command the destruction of all that had taken sacred Orders, yet in a further* (*b*) *speciality the massacring of Bishops; he relateth that one hundred and sixty of them were martyred in two places; yea, and in the Church of* Rome *it self is also reckoned the number of* 160. *Bishops, who were martyrs of Christ in those primitive* times. To fancy that these afflicted and persecuted Members of Christ for their degree sake, could pride it in their Episcopall office, would be held to be but a dream, they will rather think, that if they should prelate it, (as Marriners use to frolike it) rather in a calme of tranquility; but for this also we shall easily subcribe to the judgement of Master *Beza*, who when he was thus posed, whether he should impute the note of pride unto these Primitive servants of God, (whose names have alwayes been celebrious in the Church of Christ (to

Smectym. in their vindication.

(a) Brightman *in Apocalyps. Diocletian tē. poribus erant atrocissimæ clades, sed tamen fideles ad extremum certamen constanter perstiterunt, reportantes Trophæa victoriæ corporis stigmata.*

(b) *Complures Episc. insignes erant in Concilio Nicæno 3 & rursus qui historiam scripsit, meminit centum & sexaginta Episcoporum qui in Sagasand extincti sunt, & in provincias edicto Regis proferantur ut deferentur universi qui sacros ordines habuerint.*

(to wit) *Basil, Nyssen, Nazianzen, Athanasius, Chrysostome, Ambrose*, and *Augustine*, who are known to have afterwards had Episcopall Government in their severall Churches) answereth, saying, (c) I never heard any speak, or read any write otherwise then honourably of those men, as was meete. So he, of his time; he could not prophesie of the future. It were good, that these who use this new and broad language had considered, * That Bishops were then almost the only ones, who, as occasion fell out, either pulled the Romish Pope out of his Saddle when he was mounted, or else pluckt away his Stirrop, that in those times he could not get up. For whereas Popedome, being a double usurpation, one of plenitude of Authority, † universall over Bishops; and the other of an infallibility of judgement in determining all Controversies of Faith, it hath been evidently and copiously proved, that the amplitude of his Dioceſſe was limited by three hundred Bishops in the Generall Councell of *Nice*. His pretended right of Universall Authority was contradicted an. 553. by six hundred Bishops in the Councell of *Calcedon*, where we find it accounted to be but of Humane Authority against his pretended universall challenge of appeale to *Rome*, it was twice contradicted by Bishops in two Councells in *Africk*; and as for his pretended infallibility in judgement, the 165 Bishops in the Councell of *Constantinople* condemned the Decree of Pope *Vigilius*; and in the sixth and seventh Councells, consisting in all of 603. Bishops, was Pope *Honorius* condemned for an Heretique. We may not omit the mention of singular persons Bishops, who have had their solemne oppositions against the Popes of their times, *Cyprian, Athanasius, Basil, Cyrill of Alexandria, Hilary of Arles and Augustine*, with many others. But what talke we of Bishops in other Sees? seeing we have in the See of *Rome* it self one, who did prejudice the pretended and usurped dignity and authority of all his Successours in condemning the pretence of the highest Title and Prerogative which the Pope doth challenge, which is to be called *The Universall Bishop of Christs Church*, by judging it to be proud, prophane, and blasphemous, and the

(c) *Beza de Ministrorum gradibus, c. 25. pag. 543. apud Saravian. Neminem adhuc audivi loquentem, neque legi scribentem, qui non honorificè, sicut par est, de magnis illis suorum temporum hominibus sentiat: nempe Nazianzeno, Nisseno, Basilio magno Athanasio, Cypriano, Chrysostimo, Ambrosio, Augustino.*

* *Iren. lib. 5. adversus hæres. cap. 20.*

† See the book intituled, *The Romish Grand Impostor*, throughout.

the Bishop we mean was Pope *Gregory* the first, whom Mr. *Brightman* hath adorned with this *Encomium*, * *The flying Angell mentioned*, Apoc. 8.13. *whose lustre*, saith he, *God would use for the Church.* As for our Church of *England* since the Reformation, it hath been conformable to the Primitive. Surely greater faithfulness could not be shown then in the seal of Martyrdom, nor more opposition to Popedom, then to cut off all dependence upon it by the neck ever since, nor this more by any then in Bishops, as our Ecclesiastical monuments have recorded; not to mention the writings publique in confutation of all Popish Errours and Heresies, onely let it be lawfull for us to point at the last Synod and Convocation was vehement against Popery, as (for this is spoken by him that was absent from it) any one may read. After these Confessions of Protestant Divines, we are to ascend higher to our proofs, for evincing the same to be according to the word of God, as Apostolical; first from Antiquity, and after from the word of God it self.

* *Mr. Brightman in Apoc. cap.* 8.13. cited hereafter.

Our first proof, that Episcopacy is *according to the word of God*, by manifesting it to have been of Apostolical Institution by necessary reasons.

VIII. THESIS.

That to be of Apostolical Institution, argueth in it a divine Right, by the confession of excellent Divines of the Reformed Churches.

FRom the Church of *Geneva*, we have before us Mr. *Beza* to deliver his own words. (a) *Surely if Episcopacy had proceeded from the Apostles, I would not doubt to ascribe unto it a divine Ordinance.* So he. This is plain; Secondly, from the Churches within the Palatinate, *Scultetus* by name, argueth accordingly. (b) *The Apostles placed Bishops*

(a) *Beza tract. de Minist. gradibus c.* 23. *Cert: si ab ipsis Apostolis esset profecta hæc mutatio, non vererer illam ut cæteras Apostolicas Ordinationes divinæ in solidum dispositioni tribuere.*

(b) *Scultetus observat in Tit. esse juris divini. Ratio. Apostolos præfixisse Presbyteris Episcopos.*

above

above Presbyters, and therefore is Episcopacy of divine Institution. A third, properly call'd *Salmasius*, out of the University and Church of *Leiden* in the Low-countries, one of great fame, and a profess'd friend unto our Opposites; and notwithstanding confesseth, saying, (c) *If the Institution of Episcopacy* (saith he) *be from the Apostles, then it is of divine Right.* So they. Certainly, because what power was ordained by the Apostles proceeded from the Spirit of God: like as was their decree against *Strangled and Blood*, their *Holy-kisse*, their *Agapæ*, and the like in their first Institution.

(c) *Walo, alias Salmasius lib. de Episc. pag. 422. Institutio Episcopi si ab Apostolis, est Jure Divino.*

And although these were abrogated in time, yet the necessity of perpetuating Episcopacy, standeth upon two grounds; one, is the first reason of institution thereof, which was, for avoiding Schisme; the other was, the universal continuance thereof from age to age, upon experience of the same reason: Which, as we have heard, hath been held most reasonable to almost all Protestant Divines of remote Churches. Now therefore, that which we are to make good is onely our Assumption; to wit, that Episcopacy was of *Apostolical Institution*, then which nothing almost can be more evinceable, if testimonies from Antiquity, evidences out of Scriptures, and upon both these, the confessions of Protestant Divines of the Reformed Churches may be held satisfactory, our first endeavours concerning Antiquity for this performance, must be to remove objections which our opposites cast in our way. The onely peremptorily objected Ancients are these two, *Hierome* and *Clement*, both whom we are now to salute.

IX. Thesis.

That no Ancient Father absolutely denied the Apostolical Original of Episcopacy, no not the objected Hierome *who will shew himself a manifest Patron thereof.*

THe objected sentence of (a) *Hierome*, saying, concerning Episcopal Prelacy, *That it is rather by the custom of the*

(a) *Hieron. in 1. ad Tit. Sicut Presbyteri sciant se Ecclesiæ consuetudine iis, qui sibi præpositi sunt esse subjectos; ita Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate Presbyteris esse majores, & in communi debere Ecclesias regere.*

Church, then by the Lords disposal, is confessed by the Theological Protestant Professour in the University of *Heidelberg* to be understood (*b*) *by the decree of the Lords disposal*; the immediate ordinance of Christ, in his dayes upon earth, and affirming the *custom*, *happily to have meant the Apostolical custom*, after they began the forming and framing of the Churches. However, for this one place objected against us, we have many most evident Testimonies out of *Hierome* himself, to prove the first institution of Episcopacy to have been indeed *Apostolical*.

(b) Scultet. observat in Tit. c. 8. Nisi fortè consuetudinem Ecclesiæ pro consuetudine Apostolicâ, et dispositionis Dominica veritatem pro instituto Christi capiat.

First is from the original occasion, whereunto he alludeth, even the contention in the Church of *Corinth*, when (*c*) *some held of* Paul, *some of* Appollo, *some of* Cephas, whereof it is confessed by the foreceited Palatinate Doctour, (*d*) *That the words of the Apostle will not suffer me* (saith he) *to doubt but that alteration was made in the dayes of the Apostles*, and his confirmation is as doubtlesse; namely, because no man can produce any other original of the questioned Schisme and contention. This is a chief point, and therefore we desire to hear what (*e*) *Videlius* the Divine Professour in *Geneva*, will say unto it. He handleth the matter accurately, which is to be reserv'd to its proper place. In summe, out of *Ignatius* the disciple of the Apostles he sheweth the difference of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* begun timely in the Church, even presently after the contention to the Corinthians, whereof it is say'd, some held of *Paul*, and some of *Apollo*, and some of *Cephas*.

(c) Hieron. in 1. Tit. Antequam Diaboli instinctu studia in Religione fierent diversa inter populos, Ego sum Pauli, Ego Apollinis, Ego Cephæ, communi consilio Presbyteris Ecclesiæ gubernabantur, postea autem in toto terrarum orbe decretum est ut unus ex Presbyteris electus superponetur cæteris.

Secondly, *Hierome* granteth in general, yet distinctly of Bishops, (*f*) *That they are the Successors of the Apostles*.

Thirdly, yea he sheweth who were Successours in the very dayes of the Apostles, reckoning among others, **Timothy*, *Titus*, *Polycarpus* and *Enodius*.

(d) Scultetus in Tit. hoc cæptum est viventibus Apostolis, prior Epistol. ad Corinthios nos dubitare non finit. (e) *Videlius* in Epist. Ignat. ad Philadelphenses, cap. 14. *Discrimen illud Presbyterorum & Episcopi ut ex pluribus Epistolarum locis apparet, tempore Ignatii fuit, etenim illud valde maturè ipsorum Apostolorum temporibus in Ecclesiam irrepsit statim postquam dici cæptum est, Ego sum Pauli, Ego Cephæ &c.* Teste Hieronymo in Titum. (f) *Hieron. in Epist. ad Euagr. Omnes Episcopi* (ubicunque sunt locorum) *successores sunt Apostoli.* * As they are set down in their divers Titles in his Book *De Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus*.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, He relateth who were first Bishops of all others after them, to wit, (g) *James* of *Jerusalem*, and *Marke* of *Alexandria*.

(g) *Idem de script. Eccles.* *Jacobus minor Hierosolymitanus Episcopus, Marcus Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ primus Episcopus.*

Fifthly, (h) he alleadgeth the Analogy between *Aaron* and his sonnes in respect of the Levites with Bishops and Presbyters, from (as he saith) *Apostolicall tradition*.

(h) *Idem Epist. ad Euag.* 58. *Aaron & filii summi Sacerdotes & ut Aaron, Eleazar, & Levitæ, juxta traditiones Apostolicas hoc sunt Episcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi.*

Sixthly, the (i) Episcopall part of Excommunication against *Vigilantius* he calleth *His Apostolicall Iron Rodde*. So *Hierome*. It were incredible if that all these Apostolicall Relations concerning Episcopacy, should not amount unto so much as to make up an Apostolicall Institution thereof.

(i) *Idem ad Ruper. adverſ. Vigilant. Miror sanctum Episcopum in cujus parochiâ Presbyter esse dicitur, a quiescere furori ejus, & non virgâ Apostolicâ & ferreâ confringere vas inutile.*

The second objected Father, is *Clement*, whereof their successe will be no better, if not much worse.

X. THESIS.

That Clement *an Apostolicall Disciple, to whose arbitrement both our Opposites and we offer to yeeld our selves, doth patronize Episcopacy, as being Apostolicall.*

WE are earnestly called upon to hearken unto *Clement*, talking of a *prophecy of a future contention which should happen about the name of Bishop*. Next, *That there is no peece of Antiquity of more esteem, then the Epistle of* Clement *unto the Corinthians*. Then; *That this was brought to light by a learned Gentleman* Mr. *Patrick Young*: and lastly for the matter it self, *That there is a common and promiscuous use of the word Presbyter and Bishop*.

Smectym. vind. pag. 136.

We shall answer punctually to every one, *viz.* The *Prophecy* maketh for us, the *Epistle* much more, the *Publisher* also as much as can be desired, and that Objection of the indifferency of the Words of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* is scarce worthy the mention.

We begin with the *Prophecy*: The *Prophecy* was only, that

that there ſhould be in time to come, *a contention about the word Biſhop.* If we ſhould ask our Oppoſites, when this contention was firſt known in times of old, they would be loth to tell us, knowing right well, that it was firſt raiſed by one *Aërius*, of whom *Epiphanius* and *Auſtin* have * told us, that he broke out into Schiſme, and * *becauſe he could not obtain to be made a Biſhop*, did therefore ſpurne againſt Epiſcopacy, teaching, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, *that there ought to be no difference between Biſhops and Presbyters*; therefore thus they may ſee the Prophecy fulfilled, both when, and in whom, if they like it. But if any ſhall boaſt, that it is fulfilled now by their preſent Oppoſalls againſt Epiſcopacy, after that it hath had approbation with a continuall uſe univerſally in the Churches of God: Then have we nothing elſe to reply, but what the ſpirit of God, from the pen of the holy Apoſtle, putteth in our mouth; *if any be contentious* (ſaith he) *we have no ſuch cuſtome, nor the Churches of God*, whereby the wilfully contentious maketh himſelf an adverſary to the Churches of God, and conſequently no way acceptable to God himſelf.

* See above.

The ſecond point which we are to diſcerne, is that, which they call identity of names of *Biſhops* and *Presbyters*: they ſhould have called it community of names, eſpecially knowing that there is no more identity in the words *Presbyters* and *Biſhops*, then there is between the letters of *P.* and *B.* But this was a lapſe: Therefore to our matter in hand. We anſwer, that meer names and words make but verball conſequences, to which we oppoſe a reall and Logicall conſequence *à paribus*, thus: For of the very Apoſtles of Chriſt one inſtiled himſelf *Co-presbyter*, another himſelf *Presbyter*, a third himſelf *Deacon*, who are all common names with others that were not Apoſtles; and notwithſtanding, the Apoſtles themſelves in reſpect of their offices and Functions were Governours over Presbyters: which ſheweth that the enterchangeableneſſe of names cannot conclude an indifferency of degree. But this *crambe* will be ſodden once again, when we ſhall be occaſioned to give further ſatisfaction. As for the preſent, it may well be ſaid, *what ſhall we need words, when we ſee Acts*

and

and deeds, namely concerning this *Clement*? Not only that he maintained the distinct degrees of Episcopacy, but that also he was distinctly above Presbyters, a Bishop himself. Yet should not our Opposites pose us in that, where (a) *Vedelius* a Professour of *Geneva* gave them (if they have read him) some satisfaction; shewing, *that as soon as* Clemens *remained the sole Adjutour of the Apostles after* Linus *and* Cletus, *the name of Bishop was given unto him, and not attributed to any Presbyter, or Presbyters in the Church of Rome.* So he. Is not this to the point; the distinguishing of times doth solve many doubts. It is meet now at length we hear *Clemens* himself speak. *Clement* immediately after his relation of the aforesaid Prophecy, addeth, saying concerning the Apostles, (b) *for this cause, they having a perfect foreknowledge, constituted the aforesaid, and left a description of Officers and Ministers in their course, who after that they themselves should fall asleep, other Godly men might succeed and execute their function.* So *Clement*. Whence it is evidently collected, that Bishops were the successours of the Apostles, because a Role and Catalogue of Bishops is frequently had in Ecclesiasticall stories, lineally deduced from the Apostles, as the most of the learned Protestants of the Reformed Churches have ever confessed. But if our Opposites cannot prove the like Catalogue of Presbyters of a primitive and right line of descent, then are they wholy to yeeld the cause, and that even by the judgment of *Clement*, which is now ready to be furthermore confessed by the exact learning of the Publisher of *Clement*. This Gentleman, our Opposites call Learned, we owe him an higher Title, even one exquisitely learned; he commenting upon the same Epistle of *Clement*, now objected against Episcopacy, teacheth that the right word διατομὴ agreeth with the word *census* in *Tertullian* by whom it appeareth, that it was a custome in Apostolicall Churches to make a Role (for this word he held not unfit) of the order of Bishops to bring them unto their first originall, even as, saith *Tertullian*, *Polycarpus*, was from *John* the Apostle in the Church of *Smyrna*, and *Clemens*, in the Church of *Rome*, from *Peter*, speaking even of this, our *Clemens*, and addeth

(a) *Vedelius. Exercit.* 8. *ad Mariam in Ignatium, cap.* 2. *Lino & Cleto defunctis ante Clementem, solus Clemens superstes, solus etiam Episcopi nomen retinuit, tum quia inter adjutores Apostolorum solus ipse restabat, tum quia jam invaluerat distinctio Episcopi & Presbyteri. ita ut cæteris Ecclesiæ Romanæ Presbyteris, qui cum solo Clemente, essent, nomen id non fuerit tributum.*

(b) *Clement ad Corinth. Epist. p.* 57. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ διατομὴν δεδώκασιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.

addeth of others; *and others* (saith he) *whom the Apostles constituted Bishops, from whom others might dedvce their traductions and offsprings*; what is, if this be not, an inexpugnable convincement of our Opposites to prove Episcopacy to be of an Apostolical Ordination? Yet is not this all.

Clement is further represented unto us by the same learned Publisher, as one registred and enroll'd by antiquity as Bishop of *Rome*, in the Catalogue of the same Bishops lineally descended from the Apostles, whether in the first, second or third rank, it matters not; and the doubt, such as it is, is solved in the Margent by our foresaid *Geneva* Professour: And for witnesses hereunto are cited *Optatus*, *Hierome*, *Ruffinus*, *Eucherius* and *Photius*, set down expressely in the same Book, which our Opposites have objected against us; which if you would not see, or seing not regard, all we shall say is, We are sorry for it: Yet after this our retorsion of their objected Authors upon themselves, we shall endeavour to give them further satisfaction from our selected and expresse suffrages of Antiquity for the truth of Apostolicall succession of Episcopacy.

XI. THESIS.

That other Primitive Fathers before Hierome *did unanimously testifie an Apostolical right of Episcopacy.*

NOthing can be more manifest for the first three (a) *Ireneus* (b) *Tertullian*, and (c) *Origen*, to which we add (d) *Augustine*, do all professe themselves ready to deduce the succession of Bishops in the principal Sees from the dayes of the Apostles. Next they instance in some Apostolicall Church,

(a) *Ireneus adverſ. hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3. Habemus annumerari eos qui ab Apoſtolis inſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi in Eccleſiis, qui nihil tale docuerunt, & l. 4. c. 43. Qui cum ſucceſſione Epiſcopatûs Chriſma veritatis certum acceperunt.* (b) *Tertull. præſcript. cap. 31 lib. 4. contra Marcion. cap. 5. Romanæ perinde & cæteræ extant Eccleſiæ, quæ ab Apoſtolis in Epiſcopatum conſtitutos Apoſtolici ſeminis traduces habeant.* (c) *Origen in Johan. de Epiſc. Quod Dominus in Eccleſiâ ordinavit poſt Apoſtolos, quiâ in eâ primum ſonitus ſunt locum.* (d) *Auguſt. Epiſt. 42. Radix Chriſtianæ ſocietatis per ſedes Apoſtolorum & ſucceſſiones Epiſcoporum certâ per orbem propagatione diffunditur.*

as namely from *Ja.* the B^op. of Hieruſ. & *Mark* in *Alexandria* What ſay our Oppoſites to this? a principal one (*o*) (*Salmaſius* by name) calleth this allegdgment of *James* a Biſhop falſe and fooliſh: his reaſon was, becauſe *James* was an Apoſtle, and therefore not to keep reſidence in one See. Firſt, be it known, that whatſoever this *James* was, all Antiquity rendereth him unto us a Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, (*viz.*) (*f*) *Euſebius*, (*g*) *Epiphanius*, *Hierom*, (*h*) *Egeſippus*, (*i*) *Chryſoſtom*, and (*k*) *Ambroſe*, the (*l*) Synod of *Trullo*: How then ſhall it become us but of yeſterdayes birth, thus to pull reverend Antiquity by the beard, and give them the fool? Yet we may not reſtrain rational men from reaſoning, and therefore we anſwer, that were it that *Ja.* had been an Apoſtle, yet other Proteſtant Divines of the reformed Churches were no fools, as Dr. (*m*) *Scultetus*, (*n*) *Zuinglius*, and Mr. (*o*) *Moulin* each one can anſwer; that notwithſtanding the proper functions of the Apoſtles, in viſiting of Countries after Countries for converſion of people, and founding of Churches; yet whether enfeebled by age, or upon extraordinary occaſions, they might fix themſelves to one Province. But yet are we not coſtrained to this anſwer; but furthermore tell our Oppoſites that, (which hath been (*p*) judiciouſly proved at large) that this was not *Iames* that Apoſtle, but *Iames* the Brother of our Lord, and onely an Apoſtolical Diſciple, which may ſa-

(e) *Walo, alias Salmaſ. de Epiſc pag. 201. Abſurdum eſt Clementis Alexandrini commentum. & p. 406. Fabula eſt, quam in libri Hypotypoſe ὧν de ordinatione, &c.*

(f) *Euſebius lib. 7. cap. 8. Jacobus, quem Scriptura fratrem Domini nominat, Hieroſolymæ Eccleſiæ ſedem accepit.*

(g) *Epiphan. lib. 2. cap 2. Hæreſ. 65. Jacobus primus Eccleſiæ Hieroſolymitanæ.*

(h) *Egeſippus. Apoſtolorum temporibus erat quod Jacobus cognomento Juſtus Eccleſiam Hieroſ. poſt Apoſt. accepit, ſic Hieron. de ſcriptis Eccleſiæ in Jacobo.* (i) *Chryſoſt. Hom. 33. in Act. 1. 15. Jacobus Epiſc. Eccleſiæ Hieroſolymitanæ.* (k) *Ambroſ. in 1. Galat. Jacobus ab Apoſtolis Hieroſol. conſtitutus eſt Epiſcopus.* (l) *Synod. 6. in Trullo can. 32. Ad ſtipulantes. enimvero hic eſt ille Jacobus, qui ſixum Hieroſolymis habuit domicilium velut Ordinarius Epiſcopus, quem Paulus primo & ultimo ſuo adventu invenit in urbe Apoſtolis fere omnibus foris Evangelizantibus, Gal. 1. Act. 21.* (m) *Scultetus obſervat in Tit. Jacobum ab Apoſtolis Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopum ordinatum teſtantur patres quamplurimi.* (n) *Zuinglius tom. 2. de Eccleſ. fol. 48. Apoſtoli Apoſtolorum nomina depoſuerunt, uni ſedi affixi, ſive ſenectâ impediti, aut peregrinationibus afflicti; exemplum eſto Jacobus minor Hieroſol Epiſcopus.* (o) *Moulin lib. de Vatibus cap. 10. Apoſtoli toti Eccleſiæ invigilabant in ſolidum & indiviſum, aliquam tamen peculiarem provinciam quibuſdam Apoſtolis fuiſſe aſſignatam diſcimus ex Sacrâ Scripturâ, Gal 2. 7.* (p) *Archiepiſcopus Spalatenſis, tomo quarto.*

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tisfie our Oppoſites, untill we come to ſpeak of their objected *Timothy* and *Titus*, called Evangeliſts; As for *Mark*, if in the line of ſucceſſion of Biſhops of *Alexandria*, he only be taken excluſively, yet muſt the Ordinance of that See be neceſſarily held Apoſtolicall.

XII. THESIS.

That the Apoſtolicall Antiquity of Epiſcopacy is confeſſedly proved out of Ignatius.

Vedelius profeſſor Genevenſis Apol. pro Ignatio cap. 1. Ignatius Apoſtolorum diſcipulus erat; quem nemo negabit fuiſſe virum ſanctiſſimum, Eccleſiæ Antiochiæ Epiſcopum, et qui Chriſti veritati Teſtimonium præbuerit ſæviſſimo mortis genere ſub Trajano Imperatore.

Item Exercit. prima in Ep. ad Trall. cap. 4. § 4. Bellar. lib. 4. de Pontifice c. 25.

VEdelius that learned Divinity Profeſſor in the Academy of *Geneva*, in his moſt elaborate work of Exercitations upon the Epiſtles of *Ignatius* for vindicating his Doctrine from the falſe gloſſes of *Bellarmine*, *Baronius* and other Romiſh writers, is copious in manifeſting the direct judgement of *Ignatius* in many notable points. Concerning *Ignatius* himſelf he rendereth him unto us a *Diſciple of the Apoſtles, a Biſhop of Antioch, an holy man, and a faithfull Miniſter of Chriſt.* 2. *Concerning the cauſe againſt Bellarmine*, and others who will have Biſhops the firſt under the Pope of Rome, as the Apoſtles were under Chriſt, this he confuteth out of *Ignatius*, who taught *that Presbyters ſhould be ſubject to Biſhops, and Biſhops to Chriſt.* 3. Againſt Papiſts who proclaime the Pope to be Biſhop of Biſhops: he confeſſeth *Ignatius* holding the Biſhop in every Church to be the *next under Chriſt, and chief therein.* 4. *The diſtinction between Biſhops and Presbyters, was in the dayes of the Apoſtles*: and laſtly profeſſeth for himſelf and others, that if they had a Bi-

Quemadmodum Apoſtoli primi erant ſub Chriſto, ita Epiſcopi primi ſub Pontifice. Reſp. Imo Epiſcopi non ſunt primi ſub Pontifice, ſed ſub Chriſto, niſi Bellarmino Ignatius mentitur, qui Epiſcopum nullam in Eccleſiâ habere ſupra ſe poteſtatem dicit hâc ipſâ Epiſtolâ, Et Epiſt. ad Smyrnenſes. Οἱ λαϊκοὶ τοῖς Διακόνοις ὑποτασσέσθωσαν οἱ Διάκονοι τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ. *Ib. c. 9. num. 8. Pontificii ſtatuunt Papam ut Epiſcoporum Dominum: at Ignatii tempore maximus in Eccleſiâ erat Epiſcopus, poſt. Archiep. Item Exercit. 1. cap. 2. num. 4. Ignat. in Epiſt. ad Polycarp. Verba ejus monẽt Epiſcopũ officii ſui, ut agnoſcat ſe tum demum aliorum Epiſcopum eſſe, quando ipſe Epiſcoporũ principi pareat: Talibus Epiſcopis & libenter paremus.* Σοφισθέντες ἀπὸ πνεύματος.

ſhop

ſhop, ſuch as was *Polycarpus* (a Diſciple alſo of the Apoſtles) they as *Ignatius* required of the *Smyrnaeans*, would willingly, *yea, neceſſarily obey him*. So he. In this Maxime we behold two Diſciples of the Apoſtles, *Ignatius* and *Polycarpus*; both Biſhops diſtinctly from Presbyters and Governours: and this in the Apoſtles times. As well therefore may our Oppoſites deny themſelves to have depended naturally from their own parents, as Biſhops, originally from the Apoſtles. We are to purſue this yet a little further.

XIII. THESIS.

That Antiquity hath given us Rules of Reſolution for the knowledge of any Apoſtolicall practice, which may ſerve in the caſe of Epiſcopacy.

THe rule given by Antiquity, was alwayes held Catholique throughout all Chriſtian Churches of ancient times. St. *Auſtins* rule may be our firſt direction thus, (a) *Whatſoever the Univerſall Church holdeth, and was not inſtituted by Councels, but alwayes kept, that muſt moſt rightly be judged to have been from Apoſtolicall Authority*: So he: which for our purpoſe is as much as Dr. *Sculletus* moſt judiciouſly and ingenuouſly confeſs'd, that if no Interim can be ſhewn between the Apoſtles times, and the dayes immediately ſucceeding, when there was no Epiſcopall Government over Presbyters in the Church, then muſt the ſame have proceeded immediately from the Apoſtles. We hold this moſt reaſonable, even as if the Queſtion were, what the practice is of the Country adjoyning unto us: Our next bordering neighbours to it, would be the moſt competent witneſſes of their manners, ſuch have been hitherto our proofes even from ſuch Ancients, as either had ſeen the Apoſtles, or elſe from ſuch as had been converſant with the immediate Diſciples of the Apoſtles. Our Oppoſites not able to inſtance in the practice of any one Primitive Church to the contrary, onely object a community of names of Presbyters and Biſhops, which ſhadow

(a) *Auguſt. de Baptiſm. contra Donatiſt. l. 4. Quod univerſa tenet Eccleſia, nec conſiliis inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non niſi Authoritate Apoſtolicâ traditum rectiſſime creditur.*

will vanish, as soon as we shall give light by proofes of the Apostolicall Originall of Episcopacy in diverse *Theses* following by expression, confession and Authorities.

XIV. Thesis.

That Protestant Divines of other Reform'd Churches, have held it most equall to be directed by the judgements of Ancients for proof of a practice Apostolical.

WE plead no other equity in this cause, then what *Calvin* held necessary against Anabaptisticall Revelations, arguing negatively in this manner, *These lyes* (saith he) *are easily confuted, because many were then living who had been conversant with the Disciples of the Apostles.* So he concerning Doctrines. How much more convincent must this Argument be, when our Question shall be of the practice of the Church in the dayes of the Apostles? even as is daily done by all Christian Churches, for proof of the practice of baptizing of Infants, against the same Anabaptisticall Faction; yea, why not also for the like Originall practice of Episcopacy, even by the confession of *Protestant Divines of excellent judgement*: (b) *Beza* must not be neglected, telling us, *that he ought not to neglect the Ordinance of a higher degree of a Bishop above a Presbyter, because this was an ancient custome in the famous Church of Alexandria.* So he. This is well, but he hath not quite told out his tale, which he doth elsewhere out of the words of (c) *Hierome*, saying namely, *that in Alexandria, from* Mark *the Evangelist, one was elected by the Presbytery,*

(a) *Calv. Tract. Theol. Eccl. reform. a. 74 Ireneo & Origini negotium erat cum improbis nebulonibus, qui, dum prolixos errores proferrent in medium, eos sibi divinitus revelatos dicebant. Hujus mentio facilis erat Revelatio quæ ad hunc superstites erant multi, qui familiares Apostolorum discipuli fuerunt; quibus recens erat hujus doctrinæ memoria, quam Apostoli tradiderunt.*

(b) *Beza de Minist. gradibus. Pro primatu Ordinis inter Presbyteros communicato singuli pastoribus per vices Primatus dignitate, quod visum fuit hunc ad unum equidem totius presbyterii judicio delectum transferre, certè reprehendi nec potest, nec debet, cum præsertim vetustissimum fuit primum presbyterum deligendo in Alexandrinâ Ecclesiâ celeberrimâ inde à Marco Evangelista observatus.*

(c) *Beza de Minist. grad. c. 23. Quod autem unus electus est qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis factum est remedium, ne unusquisque ad se Christum trahens, Ecclesiam rumperet; nam & Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelistâ ad Heracl. usque et Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri unum semper à se electum in celsiore gradu collocatum Episcopum nominabant.*

and

and placed in a higher degree, whom they named Biſhop, which was done for a remedy againſt Schiſme. Be it then that touching this Series and order of Succeſſion, as it was ſaid of Saint *Mark* the Apoſtle, be it taken incluſively, or excluſively; it neceſſarily implyeth, that the Original of Epiſcopacy was in the dayes of the ſame Apoſtles. Maſter *Moulin* giveth us a lowder Accent, ſaying, *that* (d) *he was never ſo hard faced as to cenſure theſe Biſhops*: Ignatius, Polycarpe, Auguſtine, Chryſoſtome, *and other great lights of the Church, to have uſurped an unlawfull function in the Church of Chriſt*; So he: Alleadging among his ancients *Polycarpe* and *Ignatius*; the firſt of which, as all the learned know, lived in the dayes of the Apoſtles, and as antiquity it ſelf teacheth, and conſent of Proteſtant Divines of Remote Churches will afterwards grant, to have been in the dayes of Saint *John* the Evangeliſt, the Biſhop of *Smyrna*. The other, *viz. Ignatius*, was alſo acquainted with thoſe, who had been the Diſciples of Chriſt. Beſides, we have heard (e) *Scultetus* reſolving, *that Iames* (not the Apoſtle) *the Brother of our Lord, was Biſhop of Hieruſalem, from the plentifull teſtimonies of Antiquity it ſelf.* We will conclude with this our proof from the ſame Antiquity; but what? even that which (f) *Bucer* finds reſolved upon (as he ſaith) before *Hierom*, let us take his own words. *Divine Fathers more ancient then* Hierom. Cyprian, Ireneus, Euſebius, *and other Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians ſhew, That in the Apoſtles times there was one elected and ordained, who ſhould have Epiſcopal function and ſuperiority over Presbyters*; ſo us hereafter. The like acknowledgment will *Beza* give

(d) *Moulin Ep. 3. ad Epiſc. Winton. Non ſum adeo oris duri ut velim adverſus illa veteris Ecaleſiæ Lumina Ignatium, Polycarpum Cyprianum, Auguſtinum, Chryſoſtomum, &c. ferre ſententiam, ut adverſus uſurpatores muneris illiciti: plus ſemper apud me poruit venerauda Antiquitas, quam novella cujuſquam conſtitutio.* See below.

(e) *Scultet. obſervat. in Titum. c. 8. ſed ego de Jacobo dicam, non illo quidem Apoſtolo ſed Salvatoris noſtri fratre.* (f) *Bucer de Anim. curâ et officio Paſtor: Apud patres Hieronymo vetuſtiores clara habemus Teſtimonia, in præcipuis Eccleſiis omnibus temporibus Apoſtolorum ita comparatum eſt, ut Presbyteris omnibus quidem officium Epiſcopale fuerit impoſitum. Interim tamen Apoſtolorum temporibus unus, de Presbyteris electus utque ordinatus eſt in officii ducem & quaſi Antiſtitem, qui cæteris omnibus præivit, & curam animarum, miniſteriumque Epiſcopale præcipuè & in ſummo geſſit atque adminiſtravit, quod de Jacobo legis, Act. 15. ubi Lucas Jacobum deſcribit ut Antiſtitem totius Eccleſiæ omniumque Presbyterorum.*

he, instancing in *Iames*, of whom we have spoken who was Bishop of *Hierusalem.*

XV. THESIS.

That Master Beza *himself is challengable to yeild unto Apostolical right of Episcopacy, from his own former confession.*

* *Vide Thesin 12.*

MAster *Beza* hath already * confessed concerning the famous Church of *Alexandria*, that from *Mark* the Evangelist, one was chosen to be placed in a degree above Presbyters, called Bishop, is according to the Testimony of *Hierom.* The Story hereof hath been of late published by Master *Selden*, the Ornament of our Nation, excellently conversant in ancient & exotick Learning, out of the Relation of *Eutychius*, that *Mark* the Ev. placed *Anianus* Patriarch or Bishop over Presbyters in the Church of *Alexandria.* In which book also, there is set down the full Catalogue of 18. Bishops successively unto *Dionysius*, that possessed the same See, which proveth as plainly an Episcopal and personal succession, by an Apostolical Constitution from *Anianus* to *Alexandria* in a lineal succession, as was the filiall and natural descent from *Adam* to *Thara*, which makes up eighteen Generations. What need then many words? the most *Theses* which have been premised, and almost all afterwards to be propounded, do declare the same by joynt accordance of Protestant Divines of reformed Churches, and suffrages of Antiquity. We hasten to our last proof; but are arrested in our way by our Opposites, to answer two objected Testimonies of Antiquity.

XVI. THESIS.

That the Testimonies of Nazianzen *and Augustine are unworthily objected to the contrary.*

Smect. vindic. pag. 88.

WE are urged to reckon these two excellent Bishops, although in true Construction they have answered for themselves. *Nazianzen* (say our Opposites) mustering up the evils that had hapned unto him, reckoneth ejection

ejection out of his Episcopacy, holding it a part of wisdome to avoid it, wishing that there were no προεδρία place of President-ship, or τυραννικὴ πρεσβία or Tyrannicall Prerogative in the Church, but that they might be known only by vertue. We have alleadged *Nazianzen* according to the genuine sense; So they: But so as usually in an Heterogeneall sense to inferre a necessary abnegation of Episcopacy. They who seek ingenuously the genuine sense of Sentences in Authors must be *Janus*-like faced, looking πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω backward and foreward, both which properties have been wanting to our opposites; first because before the words objected they lay before their eyes this saying of (a) *Nazianzen*, *there was a time when Episcopacy was had in great admiration, and desired of wise and prudent men*; and the second, as not considering that was then spoken only comparatively against the Tyrannicall Government of Bishops, which by all Protestant Bishops hath been condemned in the Popish Hierarchie; besides, that this was but the breath of vexatious passion upon occasion of one *Maximus*, whom *Nazianzen* calleth a Cynicke and doggish Philosopher, because, whereas he himself had the Generall esteem in the Church of Christ to be, by way of excellence, called ὁ θεόλογος, the Divine, notwithstanding he was vehemently persecuted by the same unworthy Prelate, and by his circumvention disturb'd out of his Bishopricke; and therefore sensible of that indignity, did utter the language of his hearts grief. But why did not our Opposites tell us, that after this storme there fell a calme, when the same godly Bishop was with generall applause received to his Bishoprick again; but especially we may complaine that they have by their silence smothered *Nazianzens* judgement concerning the cause it self, which is the right of Episcopacy, and which he esteemed the *most perfect kind of Government*; So he. And is not this as much as to have held it the best? Which he further declareth in his funerall Orations which he had of three famous Bishops, *Basil*, *Athanasius*, *and Cyprian*. *Augustine* writing to *Hierome*(b) saith, *that custom hath obtained, that Episcopacy should be higher then Presbytery, according to the honour and dignity*

(a) *Nazianz. orat. 28. Fuit tempus quando cordati & prudentes viri Episcopatum in admiratione habuerunt & disiderabant*

(b) *Walo pag. 355. usus, inquit obtinuit, ut Episcopatus Presbyterio major sit secundum honorum vocabula, Ergo usu & consuetudine Ecclesiæ priùs constitutum est ut Episcopi majores essent Presbyteris, tum ex re distinctâ vocabulorum etiam insequuta est distinctio.*

dignity of the words. Therefore (saith Walo) *the distinction of Episcopacy and Presbytery was first constituted by the Church.* So he; whose disciples our other Opposites have learned this lesson, saying, (c) If *Augustine had known* the majority of Bishops above Presbyters, to have been of Divine or *Apostolicall institution, he might have said so much; nay he would have said as much.* And we answer, if any of our Opposits had reguarded to search the judgement of *Augustine*, they would not have said thus much, because it is evident that *Augustine* did say as much as they require, he should have said, as hath been shewn; saying of himself and other Bishops, thus; *we succeed the Apostles in the same Power, and that Christ instituted Bishops when he ordained his Apostles*: That we * repeat not his condemning Aërius (as *Epiphanius* did) for denying Episcopacy to have been an institution Apostolicall; and now whether our Reader think it more reasonable, to yeeld to the supposition of what *Augustine* would have done, or the manifestation what he did, we permit to his judgement. This obstacle thus removed, we fall now upon the last proof.

(c) *Smect. Vindic. pag.* 87.

* See above.

Our last proof, that Episcopacy is of Apostolicall right & according to the word of God, even from the Word of God it self.

To this purpose, two places of Scripture are especially to be alleadged: The Epistles of *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Epistles of St. *John* in the Revelation to the seven Churches in *Asia*, which are to be discussed according to our foremer Method, by the consonant Testimonies of ancient Fathers; and consent of Protestant Divines of generall esteem and approbation.

XII. THESIS.

That Timothy *and* Titus *both had a Prelacy over Presbyters, notwithstanding the objection of the community of Names of Bishops and Presbyters, is sufficiently confessed by Protestant Divines of Remote Churches.*

THere can none be held a more sufficient witnes with our Opposites, then he who hath professedly pleaded this cause

cause in their behalfe, & notwithstanding freely, & deerly granteth: that (a) Timothy *and* Titus *were indeed Governours over their Provinces and places, where the Apostle had appointed them, and that they had over the Presbyters a kind of Apostolical authority*, which he *in his own judgement calleth extraordinary*, and we take him at his own words; in granting that it was some way an *Authoritative* Prelacy, and for the distinction of extraordinary, it will by and by receive an ordinary, but a true answer: yet we do not so much presse his confession, as we may do his Reasons thereof, deducted from the Texts themselves, concerning their Prelaticall power of *ordering matters that were amisse*. Tit. 1. 5. *of receiving Accusation against Presbyters*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. and the like.

But our other Opposites will needs pose us, requiring us to answer their first Objection, *videl.* † *That the Bishops, whose pedegree was derived from the Apostles, were no other then Presbyters*; then this is proved, say they, by two instances; the first is, *The identity of their names, which* (quoth they) *is a proof of no small consequence*, we answer, yea, rather of none at all: Else was Master *Beza* but of small judgement, when speaking of the Apostolicall Age, he confessed, (b) *that the Presbytery had then a President over them, yea, when the community of names.* So he; *of Presbyters and B^ps remained among them*; accordingly as (c) Dr *Reynolds* hath said that the Presbytery had then one, *who was president over them, when as yet the names of Bishop and Presbyter were the same*; who furthermore concerning the time of distinguishing the name of Bishop and Presbyter, whither sooner or later, here or there, he saith. The name of Bishop was *afterwards appropriated by the usuall language of the Fathers of the Church, to him that had the Presidentship over the Elders.* So he; Hereby granting that the Presidentship by Bishops was of force before the title and name was appropriated and allotted unto them. If our Opposites had acquainted themselves with these learned authors, they would have spared their pains in oppugning Episcopacy. How much more if they had consulted with Gods own Oracle in his word, wherein we find (which formerly

(a) *Walo lib. de Episc. per totum cap. primum extraordinariâ missione & functione p. 70. sic alii discipuli Christi & Apostolorum ejus &c. p. 229 Titum Cretæ insulæ præfecit Paulus, qui non singulari in aliquâ Civitate Episcopus fuit, sed totam illam provinciam ad tempus procuraret. Tales fuerunt Apostolorum auditores & discipuli, quique primiceorum successores.* † *Smect.*

(b) *Beza de Minist. grad. cap. 21. Habuit jam tum Presbyterium suum aliquem προεστῶτα Presbyterum, etiam Presbyterorum manente communi appellatione.*

(c) Doctor Reynolds his conference with Hart. c. 8 divis. 3.

formerly we pointed at) that Saint *Peter* intituled himself a *Co-presbyter.* 1. *Pet.* 5. & 1. Saint *John* himself a *Presbyter.* 1. *John* 1. And Saint *Paul* himself thrice (he could then stoop no lower) a *Deacon. Col.* 1.23. & 25. 2 *Cor.* 3. & 6. Yet notwithstanding all these inferiour appellations they held still the Authority of their Apostelship; we end this point in hope that our Opposites will take out this lesson, which *Calvin* learnt from the Divine Text in the Epistle of *Titus*; what's that? Even our full conclusion in this cause. (d) *We learn from hence, that there was not then an equality* (saith he) *among the Ministers of the Church; but that one was with Authority placed over others.* Their second convincing objection would be discuss'd

(d) *Calvinus in Titum* 1 5. *Discimus ex hoc loco non eam fuisse aqualitatem inter Ministros, quia unus aliquis authoritate præsset.*

XVIII. THESIS.

That Timothy *and* Titus *have had a Prelacy, as Bishops over the Presbyters in the Apostles times: notwithstanding the objection that they were called Evangelists, according to consent of Protestants of reform'd Churches.*

IN the next place we are to examine the second, and only other objection, which our Opposites enforce in this case, to wit, † *that* Timothy *and* Titus, *with all other such Disciples of the Apostles, the assistants and immediate successors, did take care of the Churchs, not as properly Bishops, but as Evangelists, who had no setled residence in any of the Churches*: So they, but are encountred with other Protestant Divines of remote Churches in good number. For (a) *Luther* among his other Resolutions inserted this: *That Episcopacy was of divine Right*, grounding his judgement upon the Text, specifying *Titus* his Government in *Creete*, as being consonant to the judgement of Augustine.

† *Smectym. vindicat pag.* 115.

(a) *Luther tom.* 1. *fol.* 309 *Resolutiones ejus super propositiones Lypsiæ disputat. conclus.* 13. *Proboquamlibet civitatem habere debere Episcopum proprium jure divino, quod ex Paulo ad Titum ostendo dicente,* (*Hujus rei gratiâ reliqui te Cretæ, ut quæ desunt corrigas, & constituas Presbyteros per civitates, sicut disposui tibi*) *Hos autem Presbyteros fuisse Episcopos Hieron, & textus sequens ostendit dicens, Oportet Episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, &c. B. Augustin. in Epist ad Hieron. Epist. de scripturum rationem reddit & dicit. Erat enim Civitas quasi diceret, non erat simplex Presbyter, sed Epsc. de quo loquor, quia erat civitas cui præerat.*

2. Their

2. Their learned (b) *Sculteetus* sheweth, *that at this time, they were not exercis'd in assisting the Apostles for collecting of Churches as Evangelists, but for Governing of them that had been collected*, as the generall *precepts given by the Apostles* (saith he) *do prove thereby to become the examples & Types for the successours to follow*: and thereupon he concludeth them to have been the same, who otherwise were called *Evangelists for preaching the Gospel*, although by their superintendency bishops. To the same purpose (c) Master *Moulin* will have it known, that whatsoever *Timothy* and *Titus* had, whether as Bishop or Evangelist, it was such as had a *continual succession in the Church, which is as others confesse, as James had in Jerusalem*, and *Marke in Alexandria*, which was Episcopall. *Titus* (saith (d) *Tossanus*) *after his peregrinations with Paul, was appointed Bishop of Creet*, and before these (e) *Zuinglius* confess'd, *that Tim. at that very time, when* Paul *advis'd him to pursue the work of an Evangelist.* 2 Tim. 4. *was then Bishop in some place or other, by all consequence.*

(f) Dr. *Gerhard* a late famous Theological Author is copious in this Argument: who in the same sheweth that the word *Evangelist*, given to *Timothy* when *Paul* wrote unto him, was taken in a *generall acceptation*, and not as properly belonging to him, as he had been an Assistant, *even as Luther*

(b) *Sculteetus in Titum cap. 8. pa. 10. At Paulus Ephesi et in Cretâ aliquandiu docuerat, ideo Titum & Timotheum in Cretâ jubet manere non utique ut Evangelistas sed Ecclesiæ gubernatores. Id quod etiam Epistolæ ad utrumque scriptæ evincunt: In his enim non Ecclesiæ colligendæ, quæ erat Evangelistarum sed collectæ gubernandæ, quæ est Episcoporum, rationem, illic præscribit; suntque præcepta omnia ita confirmata, ut non [sociatim ad Timotheum vel Titum, sed generatim ad omnes Episcopos referentur. Ideoque ad Temporariam Evangelistarum potestatem minimè quadrent* (c) *Moulin in Epist. 3. ad Episc.* Winton. *Quomodo appellaveris Titum, Timotheum & Marcum, seu Episcopos sive Evangelistas? constat eos habuisse successores Episcopos hæredes illius præeminentiæ* (d) *Paulus Tossanus index in Sacra Bib. Titus comes Peregrinationum Pauli, postea Cretensium Episcopus* (e) *Zuinglius tom. 2. fol. 45. Idem Episcopi & Evangelistæ nomen; nam Paulus, 2 Tim. 4.* [*Tu vigila, opus Evangelistæ perage: ministerium tuum probatum reddito*] *aliquo in loco tunc temporis fuit Episcopus, cum hæc scriberet Apostolus, Ergò constat idem fuisse Officium utriusque.* (f) *Gerhard, tom. 6. De Minister. Ecclesiast. num. 227. 2 Tim. 4.* Fac quæ. *Evangelistæ. Hæc vox hoc in loco generaliter sumitur, non specialiter pro quodam Doctorum ordine, quo Timotheus constitutus fuerit Ecclesiæ Ephesinæ Episcopus, nec ulterius Paulum comitatus. Sicut etiam Lutherus reddidit specialiter* [*dicti Evangelistæ erant Apostolorum σύνεργοι & συλλειτουργοὶ, à quibus in partem muneris Apostolici ascisti ad diversa loca ab illis mittebantur. In illorum Evangelistarum numero censendi sunt Timotheus et Titus. Timotheum Lystris assumpsit Paulus Act. 16. postea eum misit in Macedoniam Act. 19. 22. & ad 1 Cor. 4. 17. Ad Phil. 2 19. Ad Thes. 1. 3. 2. Tandem vero Ephesiæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Titum συνεργον 2 Cor. 8. 23. cum misit ad Corinth. 2 Cor. 5. 6. 12. 18. Assumpsit secum Hierosol. Gal. 2. 1. Misit in Dalmatiam. 2 Tim. 4. 10. Tandem Cretensium Ecclesiarum constituit Episcopum Tit. 1. 5.*

(saith he) *understood* it. Besides he sheweth out of Scripture exactly the severall Stations, which *Timothy* had with Saint *Paul* in exercising his office, before that time that he was placed Bishop in *Ephesus*.

We forbeare the full allegation of the like Authours cited by others, that we may hearken to our English Doctour *Reynolds*, nothing inferiour to any of the rest even in the opinion of our Opposites themselves, telling us of that very time when *Paul* assembled the Ministry at *Miletum*, *Act.* 20. 28. (g) *One was chosen as chiefe in the Church of* Ephesus *to guide it, the same whom afterwards the Fathers of the Primitive Church called Bishop.* So he. And for confirmation hereof, sheweth that which must indeed be impregnable, to wit, *A lineall succession of* 27. *Bishops* (as hath been proved) *from Timothy* in the Church of *Ephesus*: and for surplusage to all this we answer, to the objected reasons propounded for *Timothy's* non-residence in *Ephesus*, by that qualification, which (h) *Calvin* hath done in like cases, namely, that *Pastours are not so strictly tied to their Glebe or charge, as that they may not help other Churches upon necessary occasions.* As for the objected terme of *Evangelists*, we moreover answer from Scripture, where we find *Philip preaching the word of God in* Samaria. *Act.* 8. 5. *Called an Evangelist*, *Act.* 21. 8. And yet was one of the seven, meaning *Deacons*, *Act.* 6. 5. Our Quære is, why *Timothy* might not as well be called an *Evangelist* for preaching the word, being a *Bishop*, as *Philip* was, for the same cause, named an *Evangelist*, being a *Deacon*. We think all this should be satisfactory, although no more were said: But more we have.

(g) Dr. Reynolds Conference with Hart, cap. 8. distinct. 3.

(h) Calvin. institut. lib. 3. c. 3. S. 7. *Pastoribus singulis assignatur sedes, interea non negamus, quin pastor alias Ecclesias adjuvare possit, qui uni est alligatus: sive quid turbarum intercedat quod ejus præsentiam requirat, sive ab eo petatur consilium. Nec enim sunt veluti Glebæ addicti, ut Jurisconsulti.*

XIX. Thesis.

That Antiquity taught an Episcopacy both in Timothy *and* Titus.

(a) Walo, alias Salmas. lib. de Episc. pag. 229. *Titum Cretæ insulæ præfecit Paulus, qui non singulari in aliqua civitate Episcopus fuit, sed totam illam provinciam ad tempus procuraret. Tales fuerunt Apostolorum Auditores & discipuli, quicunque primi eorum successores extitere.*

OUr strongest Opposite (a) *Salmasius* could not but confesse concerning Antiquity, (although he spurne against

it) *That* Chrysostome, Epiphanius, Theophylact, Theodoret, *and other Greek Commentatours have collected out of the words of Paul, that* Titus *was verily Bishop of* Creete, *and that there could not be divers Bishops in one City*, which is our present defence, and agreeth as well to *Timothy* as to *Titus*. (*b*) *Hierome* hath recorded both *Timothy* and *Titus* Bishops, the one of *Ephesus*, and the other of *Creete*, to whom (*c*) *Ambrose*, (*d*) *Primasius*, (*e*) *Gregory* the great, do consent: *Luther* also bringeth in *Augustine* into the said *Chorus*. We haste to our last Act.

(b) *Hieron. de Eccles. script. Ephesiorum Episcopus à Paulo ordinatus.*

(c) *Ambros. in præfat. ad Timoth c. 3. Hunc creatum Episcopum.*

(d) *Greg. Pap. de Curat. Past. part. 2. c. 11.*

(e) *Primasius in 1. Tim.*

Our second ground out of Scripture to prove a Prelacy over Presbyters, to be according to the word of God is, Rev. c. 2. 3.

In the Book of Revelation, Christ by his *Angel* (properly so called) commandeth *John* to write unto the seven Churches in *Asia*, vers. 1. Telling him mystically of *seven golden candlesticks*, vers. 13. and of *seven starres*, vers. 16. and afterwards expoundeth their meanings; *seven starres* to signifie *seven Angels of the seven Churches*; and *seven candlesticks*, to betoken the *seven Churches*, vers. 20. By and by, descending to particulars, he directeth his several Epistles to the several seven Angels of the seven Churches, beginning at the Church of *Ephesus*, saying, *Write to the Angel of the Church of Ephesus*, and so of the rest. These are our Texts, which we are, in discussing these our differences, to insist upon.

The State of the Question.

We readily grant, that whatsoever matter was written to these Angels concerning either themselves or others, were by them to be communicated severally to the Churches, and all the faithfull as they were interested therein, according to that *Epiphonema*, severally applied in every Epistle thus; [*He that hath an eare to hear, let him hear*] But the onely question is, whether each of these Angels of the Churches were singular persons, having a Prelacy over other Pastors and Clergy, or no? Our opposites say nay, We yea. The odds is *ex Diametro*.

We are therefore according to true method: first, to disprove their negative, and after to evince our affirmation; But, in the first place, be it known that our Opposites in their negatives are distracted into three Opinions. One sort, by the word *Angel*, will have understood *the whole Church collectively*, as well Laitie as Clergy. Not so, say the second Opinatours, but by Angel is *collectively* meant onely *the Order or Colledge of Pastours or Presbyters.* After these the Novelists, its neither so nor so; but by Angel is meant one individual Pastour, *without relation* to any other, newly called an *Independent*, whereas our tenet is, by Angel, to understand one individual Ecclesiastical person, having a Prelacy above the rest.

XX. THESIS.

That our Opposites first Exposition, which interpreteth the Angel to mean the whole Church and congregation, is notably extravagant.

(a) *Lib. 3. de Episc. pag 183. Sit ergo hoc fixum, per Angelos nihil aliud voluisse Johannem designari, nisi ipsas Ecclesias.*

ALthough (a) *Walo Messalinus*, the grand Adversary to Episcopacy, be very peremptory for this exposition, yet will it altogether appear groundlesse. But first we are to hearken unto his glosse. *Let it be held a firm and fixt truth,* (saith he) *that by the name of Angels are not signified any that had Presidency over others, but the whole congregation and Churches.* So he; Pythagorically upon his own word, as we see: whereunto we may rather answer, Let it be held firmly and fixtly, that this glosse upon the Text is evidently confuted by the context, which standeth thus, *cap.* 1. *and* 20. *The Angels* are called *Starres*, and the *Churches Candlesticks*, so that he must turn Starres into Candlesticks, before that he can make the Angel to signifie the whole Congregation. Beside *cap.* 2. 1. the command to *John* is, *Write to the Angel of the Church of Ephesus*, where if by *Angel* must be understood the *Church*, then were it as much as to have been said, *Write unto the Church of the Church of Ephesus.* But we know the spirit of wisdom could not write unwisely.

XXI. THESIS.

XXI. THESIS.

That our Opposites second Exposition of the word Angel, to signifie only the Order and Colledge of Presbyters, is erroneous, notwithstanding the Arguments of our Opposites to the contrary.

The Answer to their first Argument.

THis indeed is the common exposition of our opposites, whereunto our objectours adhere, upon, as they call them *firme Arguments*, as first; *Our first Argument*, say they *is drawn from the Epistle to the Church of* Thyatira, *where after it was said to the Angell* [I have something against thee] *in the singular number*, Cap. 2. 20. *It is after added in the plural*, vers. 24. [But I say to you, and to the rest] But what of this? *This sheweth* (say they) *the word Angell to be collective*, to signifie a multitude of Pastours. We answer, if so, then was *Beza* but dim-sighted, who paraphras'd upon these words thus [unto you] *that is* (saith he) *unto the Angell as President, and unto Collegues, as unto the Assembly* (meaning of Presbyters) *and to the rest*, that is, *to the whole flock*. So he. Where we see that the Angell was as individuall and singular, as either *Thee*, *or Thy*: And is it possible our Opposites should be ignorant what an Apostrophe is? And that there is no figure of speech more familiar and usuall among men, then it is? As when a Lord writing to his chief Steward of matters belonging to him and other Officers under him, and the whole Family: *Be thou circumspect in managing my affaires*, and afterward as well unto him, as others, *but see that you and the rest* keep at home, as much as may be, because of the danger of the Pestilence which now rageth on all sides.

Answer to the second Argument.

Our second Argument (say they) *is drawn from the Phrases even in this very book of Revelations, wherein it is usual to express a company under a singular person, as the civil State of* Rome

Smect. vindication.

Rome *called a Beast with ten heads, which proveth that the Angell might be taken collectively.* Is this all? Master *Meade* (say they) *one better skil'd in the meaning of the Revelation, then our adversary said, that the word Angell is commonly* [if not alwayes] *in the Revelation taken collectively.* So they. This saying have I diligently sought after, but it fled from me: But yet I shall be content to be satisfied of Mr. *Meade* his meaning from his other sayings more obvious unto me, to shew, that he hath not been rightly understood by these objectours. For *Collectively*, properly taken, is a word comprehending a multitude without distinction of persons, as Christ in his Lamentation said, [*O Hierusalem, how oft would I have gathered thy Children, but thou wouldst not*] where the words singular *Thou, and Thy*, do here comprehend all the Citizens of *Hierusalem* without distinction. Had Master *Meade* this collective sense? He sheweth the flat contrary, *Apoc.* 9. 14. [four Angells] *These four* (saith he) *were put for Nations, which they were thought to Govern.* So then, they did represent Nations, as notwithstanding to be distinctly their four Governours. Next upon *Revel.* 14 6. [I saw another Angell flying] *We are to call to mind* (saith he) *that which before was* cap. 7. *shewed: that the Angells of like Visions do represent them, of whom they have Government whersoever.* And again upon vers. 7. *The flying Angell is ruler, not onely of men, but also of a more eminent ranke.* So he. If that our Objectours had (according to Master *Meade's* direction) but cal'd to minde his own explanations, they might have easily perceived he said no more, then as if we may grant that under the word Angell, to whom the Epistle is in speciall directed, are implyed all those who are concern'd therein. But how? Not by alteration of his person, but by communion of interest; for which cause Master *Beza* accknowledged him the President over others, even as many other Protestant Divines are ready to do, and that as exactly as either we can desire, or our Opposites mistake, when we come to discharge the affirmative point.

Two Answers we wish our Opposites to take into their second

rond thoughts; One, as they have presented him by way of comparison, as *better skill'd* in the Book of the Revelation then his adversary: the other, as he is to be singly respected, and in his own worthinesse. To the first we say, that comparison might well have been forborne, which now provoketh us to another comparison, between him and one as dear to our Opposites as any other, whom they know to have been as conversant in the Book of the Revelation altogether, wherein he, notwithstanding, after the second and third Chapters, hath been so far from the collective interpretation of the word Angell, that he hath not any where, as we can find, set it down as comprehending any Multitude, nay in many places he expresseth by name the individual persons themselves, or some *Individuum Vagum* signified thereby, some singular notable one.

The consideration of Master *Meade* his worthinesse and judgement touching Episcopacy, would be had the rather, because we have read the Translation of his Book authoriz'd in this manner, *It is Ordered by the Committee of the Commons House in Parliament, that the Book entituled, The Key of the Revelation, be printed.* So they. Which Key doth unlock unto us his judgement in behalf of Episcopacy, to be so fully according to the word of God, that part. 1. *c.* 4. *v.* 67. *p.* 35. *The four and twenty Elders* (saith he) *compasse next about the throne, which represent the Bishops and Prelates of the Churches, and do answer both in place and order to the Levites and Priests in the Camps of* Israel, *&c.* Thus Master *Meade*, so commended by our Opposites themselves, who if they shall approve his Key in this point, it is well, we in imparting thus much unto them have but done our duty.

The third Argument.

Our third Argument, say they, is taken from the word Angel, as it is a common name to all Ministers and Messengers, and surely if Christ had intended to point out any individuall person, he would have used some distinguishing name, as to have called him *President, Rector, Superintendent.* So they. *Smect. vindic. pag.* 143.

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As if by this their *surely* they would assure us it is a Truth, if we shall take their own word for it, contrary to the judgement of all the Learned, who have every where taught that ever since Angelical Spirits were revealed to the world, the word Angel, spoken in the better part, hath been used to expresse the dignity of their Office, and accordingly of the Ministers of God whensoever it is applyed unto them: Otherwise our Opposites, I think, would have gratified us with the allegation of some one Author that ever fancied the contrary, whom notwithstanding we shall endeavour to satisfie by a parallel in the word *Apostles* (signifying Messengers) whereof Mr. *Calvin*, (a) *This word* (saith he) *according to its Etymon agreeth to any Minister of Christ, yet was it entituled upon the twelve Apostles, because they were the immediate Embassadours of Christ.* So he. And yet we presume that our Opposites would not, because of the Community thereof, call either every Minister of Christ sent to preach the Gospel, an Apostle; or every Cobler sent on a message, an Angel.

(a) *Calvin institut. l. 3. c. 3. §. 5, De voce hâc Apostoli, etsi ex verbi Etym ritè sic possunt vocari omnes verbi Ministri, quoniam à Domino mittuntur nuncii; sed tamen quia magni refert certam habere de eorum missione notitiam, qui rem inauditam afferrent, duodecim illos peculiari hoc titulo ante omnes insigniri oportuit.*

Their fourth Argument.

Our fourth Argument, say they, standeth thus; * Our Saviour saith, that the seven Candlesticks are the seven Churches, but he saith not likewise that the seven Starres are the seven Angels, but in mentioning Angels, omitteth the word seven, which is not done without a Mystery; to wit, that the Angels do not signifie seven individual Pastours. So they. Whose Tenents are two; First, that the ommission of the word seven argueth a Mystery; Secondly, that the Mystery signified thereby is this, *that the word Angel is not individually, but collectively taken.* We cannot but deny both, and so will any even with wonderment at the Objectours boldnesse in uttering such their conceptions: for first to call that a Mystery, which by all Grammar learning is in every Language most common, by that which the Grecians call ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, that is a word not expressed following upon course in the understanding of any rational Reader. As for example: If any one of our Opposites writing to any of his Servants to bring him his two Horses,

* *Smect. vind. pag.* 146.

the black Horſe and the white, omitting in the ſecond place the word Horſe, which word doth follow in courſe of common underſtanding; yet his man ſhould bring only the black, but not the white, might his excuſe have been, It was a Myſtery?

Secondly, were it that a Myſtery ſhould be imagined therein, yet that denial of the word Angel, to be an individual perſon in the Text, contradicteth the Context. The Context ſtandeth thus, *cap.* 1. 20. The Starres are ſaid to be the ſeven Angels of the Churches, *& cap.* 2. *&* 3. The ſame Angels being recko ed, prove accordingly to be ſeven. In the Context we have *Numerum numerantem*, in the Text *Numerum numeratum*, that that which maketh up a number, ſhould be ſaid not to refer unto a number, which was before expreſs'd by Chriſt. He that hath a perfect natural hand, is ſaid to have individually every finger, although he reckon them not to be five.

Their laſt argument anſwered.

This Argument (ſay they) *is taken from Chriſts denunciation againſt the Angel of the Church of Epheſus, to remove his Candleſtick out of its place, if he did not repent: where by* Candleſtick *is meant the Church or Congregation; But if there by Angel were ſignified one individual perſon, then the congregation and people ſhould be puniſhed for the offence of that one Paſtour.* So they. Who would not have thus argued, if they had conſidered; that by thus oppugning our Expoſition, they have as utterly undermin'd and overthrown their own. As for example, their tenent hath been; that by the word Angel is ſignified the *Order and Colledge of Paſtours*, in the Church of *Epheſus*. Now then (to return their own engine upon them) if the Candleſtick, ſignifying the Church, ſhould be removed out of its place, except thoſe Paſtours ſhould repent, then ſhould the people and congregation be puniſhed for the fault of thoſe Paſtours. Therefore all the odds that is between both theſe conſequences, is no more than this, *viz.* the puniſhing of people for the fault of the Paſtour: *Smectym. pag.* 148. *vindicat.*

and for the faults of the Pastours, in extremity equally, unequally in both; whereas they should have labour'd to solve the doubt by some commodious, and congruous interpretation.

Whether thus, if by Candlestick be to be understood the people; then by people to conceive such of whom the Prophet spake *like people like Pastour*, so that the irrepentant people adhering to the unpenitent Pastor, may justly be involv'd in the same punishment. Secondly, or thus, by taking the word Candlestick, to signifie the Pastor himself, for the Ministers of the Gospel are so called, *Mat.* 5. 15. And that the same word should be diversly taken in the same sentence, cannot be strange to him who is not a stranger to Scripture. As where it is said, *He that shall save his life*, (viz. Mortall) *shall loose his life*; to wit, the *Eternal*: And again, 2. *Cor.* 5. 21. Of Christ, *He that knew no sin*, (properly taken) *was made for us sin*, that is, a sacrifice for sin, or else (not to seek further) by distinguishing of the word *place*, as here betokening mans estate and condition with relation to others, in which sense might the Church of *Ephesus*, be removed by altering the relation to that one Pastor, both by not acknowledging him their Bishop, and by withholding maintenance.

(a) *Brightman in Apoc. p. 11. Ephesus evasit nobilior propter Pauli operam triennalem in eâ Act. 19. 10. & 20. 31. Divinam ad populum Scriptam Epist. datum iis Timotheum pastorem ac fælicissimam Johannis Apost. per tot annos irrigationem.*

XXII. Thesis.

That our Opposites third Exposition of the word Angel, to signifie one onely Pastor in the Church of Ephesus, *is extremely new and naught.*

THis mis-begotten brat, namely an Exposition, which before these dayes of distraction never saw print, we might think should by and by vanish with its own novelty: How much more for the falsety thereof, which we are rather to enquire after, seeming to us to be very transparent. For the reasons, which these our Opposites might have read in (a) Mr. *Brightman*, viz. *The City of* Ephesus *was more ennobled of all other, by* Pauls *Triennial labour*

hour therein: Next, by the divine Epistle written unto the people there, as also by that Timothy *was ordained their Pastor: and besides, for* John's *laborious watring thereof for so many years together.* So he. But how successefull were these then? this was told us in the *Acts* of the Apostles, concerning the Church of Ephesus: whereof it is said, so *mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed.* Act. 19. 20. Now that after *Pauls* long residence, after *Timothies* Pastorship, and after Saint *Johns* watering of that Church, and so long a time; and that with so admirable successe, and yet here but one onely Pastor among them. Is this credible? What saith the Scripture? *The Harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few.* But here in the *mightily* great Harvest, the labourers are fewer then few. We ought not to be blamed for medling with such trifles in earnest; but that our study hath been to weed out even the least scruples, now that we are to expedite a matter of highest importance, which is our proof of Episcopacy from the word of God: and to that purpose from confutation of the negative part held by our Opposites, we passe to the proofes and confirmations of our affirmative.

XXIII. THESIS.

That by the word Angel of Ephesus, to signifie a singular and individual Pastor having a Prelacy over Presbyters, is proved by a large consent of Protestant Divines without exception judicious and ingenuous.

THe Divines, which we shall produce shall be those, whom our Opposites themselves cannot call Partialists in behalf of Bishops, whether they be of remote Churches, or as it were domestiques in our own Country. Of the first kind, we alleadge the last chief Pastor of the Church of *Geneva* (a) Master *Deodate*, who is to be cited out of his Book lately authoriz'd to be publish'd, by Order of the House of *Commons*, this Parliament. The Text in the Revelations is, *Write to the Angel of the Church of Ephesus*: His paraphrase

(a) Master *Deodate* his notes upon the Apoc. 2. 1.

paraphraſe thus. That is, ſaith he, to the Paſtor or Biſhop; under whoſe perſon ought to be underſtood the whole Church. The Church to be implyed or underſtood, and the Paſtor or Biſhop, under whoſe perſon, which, becauſe perſon can be but one, according to the *Etymon* of the word Angel, *Perſona quaſi per ſe una*: Or as it is defin'd in Philoſophy. *A perſon is an individual intellectual Nature*; yet ſo in this place as he being to acquaint all with the contents of this Epiſtle, all were underſtood to be concern'd in him, as all the other following witneſſes will acknowledge. Before him in the ſame Church of *Geneva* was *Theodore* (b) *Beza, by Angel* (ſaith he) *is meant the Preſident*, who was admoniſh'd *and his Colegues with him*. So he.

(c) *Bullinger*, although he, as others affirm, that the Epiſtle concerneth as well People as Paſtors, yet doth he conſent unto us, that, *the Epiſtle was inſcribed to one, by whom the Paſtors and people might be enformed*: As punctually and pertinently (d) *Marlorat*, ſome things (ſaith he) were to be *corrected as well in the people as in the Clergy; yet doth not* John *addreſs himſelf unto the people nor yet to the Clergy, but to the chief of them, which is the Biſhop, and that not without good reaſon*. So he. Of our chief (e) *Gualther* held the ſame opinion with further evidence of theſe other words. [Unto the Angel of the Church of *Smyrna* write] that is, ſaith he, *To the Biſhop thereof, as Hiſtories do manifeſt*. (f) *Gaſpar Sibilius*, having compared the divers Expoſitions, confeſs'd, ſaying, *This, as ſpoken but of one Angel, pleaſeth me better*. (g) Piſcator briefly and conſonantly *to the Angel*, that is, *to the Biſhop and to the Church*: namely Biſhop expreſſely, and Church conſequently, becauſe of matters of concernment to them alſo. (h) *Paræus* doubteth not to make his explanation as generally to be obſerv'd in theſe Epiſtles. *It is the word of Chriſt*

(b) *Beza in Apoc. 2. 1. Angelus τῷ ποιμένι, quem oportet admoneri & per eum Collegas, totamque adeo Eccleſiam.*

(c) *Bullinger in Apoc. cap. 2. concio ſeptima. Nemo autem exiſtimet hanc Epiſtolam uni inſcriptam Angelo, i. e. Epiſcopo vel paſtori, nihil ad Eccleſiam pertinere. Nam ſub finem Epiſtolæ Epiphonema adjicitur. Qui habet aurem audiat quid Scriptura dicat Eccleſiis. Nominatur ergo paſtor, ſed non excluduntur oviculæ; Interim verò Angelo inſcribitur, ut admoneantur Paſtores, in ipſis eſſe per multum ſitū qualis ſit Eccleſ.*

(d) *Marlorat. in Apoc. 1. 12. Quamvis quædam tam in Clero, quàm in populo corrigenda eſſent, non tamen populum, ſed Clerum aggreditur: nec quemlibet de Clero, nominatim principem Cleri, utique Epiſcopum.*

(e) *Gualther. Hom. 9. in Apoc. 8. Angelo, id eſt, Epiſcopo Smyrnenſi, atque adeo toti Eccleſiæ; conſtat ex Hiſtoriis Polycarpum fuiſſe hunc Angelum.*

(f) *Gaſpar. Sib. in Apoc. p. 185. de uno ſingulari Angelo, quæ ſententia mihi magis arridet.*

(g) *Piſcater in eandem Apoc. [Angelo] id eſt, Epiſcopo, nec non ipſi Eccleſiæ.*

(h) *Paræus* [Angelo Epheſinæ Eccleſiæ] *ſic vocat paſtorem ejus, eadem apellatione Chriſtus aliarum Eccleſiarum Epiſcopos dignatur.*

(ſaith

(saith he) *that that, which is meant to the Church, should be inscribed to the Bishop of the place, or Church.* (i) Aretius is of no lesse esteem then the former, and as punctuall altogether, by Angel interpreting *a speciall one Minister, and Disciple of* John; *by whom the writing might be commended to the whole Church.* (k) *Peter* Martyr used to be reckoned among the first Worthies. *John* (saith he) *was commanded to write to the Angels, who were the Bishops of the Churches.* But what do we multiply remote Authors, when one of their Doctors may satisfy us both for the generall, and for himself? (l) *All the most learned Interpreters,* (saith Dr. Scultetus) *by Angels expound the Bishops of the Churches, nor can it be otherwise Interpreted without violence to the Text.* So he. After our so long peregrination in remote Churches, it is time to haste home, to try what our own English Divines have judged of this matter; and lest now we be too numerous, we shall single out three, who will be held singular in the estimation of our Opposites themselves, (m) Dr. Reynolds. *Although in the Church of Ephesus,* saith he, *there were sundry Elders and Pastors to guid it, yet, among these sundry, was there one Chief, whom our Saviour calleth the Angel of the Church. Apoc.* 2. So he. His words need no Paraphrase. (n) Dr. *Fulke* is one of them whom our Opposites have cited for their part, who, if he speak directly against them, they may not be offended with us. *The Epistle to Pergamus,* saith he, *was directed to the Bishop thereof.* We have reserved Master *Cartwright* to the last. that his Testimony may be more lasting in the memory of our Opposites, as from one who useth to be most gratefull unto them. *The letters written to the Churches,* saith he, *were therefore directed to the Angel, because he is the meetest man by office, by whom the Church may understand the tenor of the letter.* So he, and so they. Although this Cloud of witnesses thus raining down aboundance of Testimonies, for proof of an Apostolicall originall of Episcopacy, may justly be held so convincent, that nothing but selfenesse in any party can oppose any thing against it, yet shall we furthermore fortify their proofes, desiring that this one thing may be observed, (to wit) the reason

(i) *Aretius* [*Angelo*] *id est Ministro Ecclesiæ per quem ad totum cœtum res proferantur.*

(k) *P. Martyr cõment. in primam Corinth. 11 Johannes jubetur scribere ad Angelos Ecclesiarum, qui erant illarum Episcopi.*

(l) *Scultetus observat in Tit. Doctissimi quique interpretes per septem Ecclesiarum Angelos intelligunt septem Ecclesiarum Episcopos, neque enim aliter possunt, nisi facere textui velint.*

(m) *Dr. Reynolds* in his Conference with Hart. c. 2. *divisio.* 3.

(n) *Dr. Fulke in Apoc.* 2. *Ad Pergamensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum Epistola hæc destinatur.*

(o) *Mr. Cartwright* on the Rhems Testament upon Apoc. 2.

ſon why all our Oppoſites have ſtrugled againſt this our Expoſition, as a break-neck to their whole cauſe; but weell go on.

XXIV. THESIS.

That Antiquity held not the word Angel (whereof we treat) to be taken Collectively for a multitude of Paſtours.

IF that our Oppoſites had not ſaid that we cited no ancient Fathers for our expoſition, we ſhould not have framed this Theſis; only we cannot tell with what appetite they did it: Is it that they hold the judgement of Fathers ſatisfactory in this caſe? Why then have they not alleadged any one ſyllable out of them for their own collective ſenſe? But we liſt not to expoſtulate, rather hoping the beſt, we entreat them to ſpell the words of (a) *Ambroſe*, they are but few, *I call Biſhops Angels, as I am taught in the Revelation.* What *Ambroſe* meant by Biſhops who can doubt? Likewiſe (b) *Auguſtine* the famous Biſhop of *Hippo*, ſaith, of one of theſe Angels, *That he was ſet over the Church by the divine voice* (meaning the Scripture.) If* *Scultetus* when he ſaid, that all the moſt learned Interpreters, by Angels, underſtood Biſhops; if among all, he comprehend the Ancients, we have not to ſeek more witneſſes; however, we need not, becauſe there is but very rare commenting upon the Apocalyps among the Fathers, much leſſe upon theſe Texts. All this notwithſtanding we are ſure of that what is wanting in their Commentaries, they ſupply in their Hiſtoricall relations, as will appear by and by, rendring unto us one *Polycarpus* Biſhop and Martyr to have been one of theſe Angells in the Church of *Smyrna*. In the interim we will plead Reaſon with our oppoſites.

(a) *Ambroſ. in 1 Corint. 1. Angelos Epiſcopos dico, ſicut docet in Apocalypſi Johannes.*

(b) *Auguſt. Epiſt. 192. Divinâ voce laudatur Angeli nomine Præpoſitus Eccleſiæ.*

* See above.

XXV. THESIS.

That the word Angel in other places of the Revelation is commonly if not alwayes Individually taken.

BEtter reaſon they cannot expect then is the retorting of their own Argument upon them: When they diſlike this,

The

The word Angell is commonly, if not alwayes taken Collectively, ergo, *ought it to be so interpreted in the second and third cap.* Sorthey: but altogether amisse, as hath been shewen. It will be our part to prove the contradictory, whereof upon observation in reading Commentaries upon the Revelation, we are the more confident; our Opposites at their leisure may inquire to other Authors; We for this present shall need but commend a special one unto them who in their opinion may stand for many, because only now at hand. He after these two Chapters (as the Marginalls shew) (a) *through his whole Commentaries upon the same Book, taketh the word Angel so far individually, as to enterpret it of some one person, either expresly by name, or else equivalently by an* Individuum vagum *as thus, some notable one, or the like.*

In the second place, we do appeale to the Texts themselves to give a sufficient taste; for oftentime the Angels are reckoned seven, and after distributed ordinatively into first, second, third, and so till the seventh, as plainly as one can reckon the seven dayes in the week, Chap. 15. and 16. Afterwards we have recited one Angel having the Key of the bottomlesse pit, Chap. 20. was there need of a Collectively understood multitude of Angels to keep one Key? The like may be said of a mighty Angel for delivering a little booke, Chap. 10. 1, 2. Besides the Angel whom *John* is said to have worshiped, Chap. 22. will they say this Angel also to comprehend a Multitude? Then might the Angel reply, have you forgot when I said to John, *I am thy fellow Servant*, but five words, and every one an Individuall.

Thirdly, to return to the questioned Text, whereas some of the Angels are commended for notable vertues, and as much condemned for some notorious vices; they that think that all the same vices and vertues did as well imply every Pastour in all the Colleges of the seven Churches, may as well conceive, that where the deformities are noted in any Corporation

(a) *Brightmannus in cap. 7. 2. id est. Constantius. cap. 8. 17. Angelus volans i. e. Gregorius Magnus c. 10. Angelus robustus, id est Chrestius. cap. 14* There is seven times *alius Angelus*, and of the first three he saith, *Erant hi tres totidem cœlestes viri, &c. v. 15. Alius, ut probabile est Minister*, and yet after doubleth fondly, *v. 17. Angelus alius est, Tho. Cromwellus, v. 18. Alius Tho. Carmerus, cap. 16. Sunt 7. Angeli, v. 2. Angelus primus Elix. Regin. v. 3. Secundus, id est, Mart. Chemnitius. v. 5 Angelus Aquarum, Civis aliquis Magistratus, v. 7. Alius Angelus. Unus aliquis. Lector, cap. 16. vers. 2, 3. 5. 7. 12. 17. cap. 18. vers. 21, cap. 19. vers. 17. Videat reliqua*

poration, therefore every person in it is equally flat-nosed, crook't-legged, bald-headed, and the like,

Lastly, the Angels and Churches being both reckoned distinctly seven times, that there should be a Collective number of the Order of Pastours, without so much as any insinuation of distinguishing them either from Angels, or Churches; have they any Key to unlock such a Mystery? From this kind of reasoning, we passe unto an evidence of no lesse importance, *Historicall Experience*, and *Practice*.

XXVI. THESIS.

That by Angel is meant Individually one Bishop, is demonstrated by Historicall learning without contradiction.

HIstory is the life of memory, and memoriall of mens lives, if it may be undubitably had, it must necessarily seal up the verity of all that hath been said of an Apostolicall Institution of Episcopacy, whereof we have had evident instances in the Episcopall Traditions from *James* in *Jerusalem*, *Mark* in *Alexandria*, *Peter* in *Antioch* and in *Rome*: And now we are to insist upon examples of the descent from *John* in two of these Angelical Churches *Ephesus* and *Smyrna*. For the first, it hath been made good unto you out of *Eusebius*, that (*a*) *Polycrates* writ himself *Bishop of* Ephesus, *testifying withall a line of seven Bishops of his own kindred, his Predecessours*: Whereunto may be added the Declaration made by *Leontius* the Archbishop of *Magnesia* in the general (*b*) Councell of *Calcedon* of the succession of the seven and twenty Bishops from *Timothy* in the same Church of *Ephesus*; which *Timothy*, all antiquity with a large consent of most approved Protestant Divines have testified to have been Bishop there; none will think, but shame it self would have restrained *Leontius* from making such a publique Declaration in the hearing of six hundred Fathers assembled in this Councell, if the matter it self had been liable to any contradiction. The next instance (as we are perswaded) may be held satisfactroy and

(a) *Polycrat. Epist. ad Victorem apud Eusb Hist. lib. 5. cap 25*

(b) *Concil. Calced. Act. 11.*

and infringeable in it self, in *Polycarpus* Bishop of *Smyrna*, in the dayes when Saint *John* lived: Our witnesses deserve your hearing, we will begin with the veriest junior of all, saying, (c) *Polycarpus who had been Disciple to one that heard the Lord, and afterward burnt a Martyr of Christ, was ordained Bishop of* Smyrna *by Saint Iohn.* (c) So *Hierome. Another,* Polycarpus *Bishop and Martyr, was placed by* John *Bishop of* Smyrna. So (d) *Eusebius.* A third before him. *By* John *was* Polycarpus *constituted Bishop of Smyrna.* So (e) *Tertullian.* And before him a fourth testifieth as one that had seen this *Polycarpus, That after that he had been instructed by the Apostles of Christ, with whom he had been conversant, he was made by them Bishop of Smyrna.* So (f) *Ireneus.* We ascend somewhat higher, to one who write an Epistle to the same *Polycarpus*, intituling him the Bishop of *Smyrna*; and in his Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*, saluting him as their Bishop. (g) *Ignatius* in these Epistles and sayings which *Vedelius* the Professour in the Church of *Geneva*, and an exact discerner and discoverer of the corruptions crept into his writings, doth hold as genuine and legitimate. Can our Opposites require a greater confirmation of any historicall point, which they themselves maintain, as more amply testified then this is? whereto as many of our former Protestant Divines did subscribe, so is there not one, to our knowledge, from this Saint *John* that ever did contradict it.

(c) *Hieronym. de Scrip. Eccles. Polycarpus Iohannis discipulus & ab eo Smyrnæ Episcopus ordinatus, totius Asiæ princeps fuit, qui nonnullos Apostolorumque Dominum viderant Magistros habuerit & viderit. Postea vero regnante Marco Antonio quartâ post Neronem persecutione Smyrnæ sedente proconsule & universo populo in Amphithet. adversus eum personaliter igni traditus est.*

(d) *Eusebius. Alius Polycarpus. Episc. & Martyr suffragiis Smyrnens. Episcopatum obtinuit.* (e) *Tertull. præscript. cap. 23. à Iohanne Smyrnæ collocatus. Euseb. Hist. lib 3. c. 30. Episcopus Smyrnæ ab his qui erant αὐτόπται τοῦ κυρίου.* (f) *Iren. lib. 3. cap. 3. vide & apud Euseb lib. 3. c. 55.* Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον, &c. *Polycarpus non solum edoctus à Christi discipulis & conversatus apud multos qui Christum ipsum viderunt, verum etiam ab Apostolis constitutus Episcopus Ecclesiæ in Asia quæ dicitur Smyrna, quem in tenera nostra ætate nos ipsi vidimus; diu enim vixit & valde senex per nobile & gloriosum Martyrium vitâ decessit* (g) *Ignatius Epist.* Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων & *Epist. ad Smyrnenses*, ἀσπάζομαι ἀξιόθεον ὑμῶν ἐπίσκοπον Πολύκαρπον, *Vedelius. Exercit. in ejus Epist.*

XXVII. Thesis.

That Christ himself shewed his approbation of the Prelacy which the foresaid Angels had in their severall Churches.

THere was yet never either favourites to Episcopacy, nor opposites against it, but have granted, that whatsoever the Government was meant in these seven Churches, it had the approbation of Christ, by the tenour of his Epistles written unto them. First from the words of the Chap. 1. 1. [*The Revelation of Jesus Christ sent by his Angel to his Servant John*] to acknowledge the Epistles to have been dictated by Christ himself, conveied by an Angel to *John*, and as it followeth in the second and third Chapters, distributed by *John* to the severall Angels, and communicated to the Churches. After this, by the vertue of the same letters, an inquisition is made, (as it were a Visitation kept) upon every Angel of the Churches, concerning the discharge of their offices; wherein two of them are found of weight and commendable, the other five, more or lesse criminally delinquents, yet so, as to manifest a justification of the Offices. The approbation of the function is seen, not only (which reason none can deny) by Christ his commending their *diligence, zeal, and faithfullnesse*; but even likewise in his processe of *convictions, reprehensions, and denuntiations* against their *remissenesse, dissolutenesse, and faithfulnesse* of others; but how? certainly, so that the condemnation of their vices and abuses argued an approbation of their Offices and Functions, because it was done, not with an absolute intent to remove them at the first, but onely to reforme them, and continue them upon their Reformation; therefore was it said from Christ to one, *Repent, or else, &c.* Chap. 2. 5. & 16. to another, *Repent, if not, I will come against thee*, and the like; this we see was no deprivation of the Officers at first, much lesse abolition of the Offices which were to continue from age to age.

The last poynt will be our Assumption from all these premisses,

misses, which is, that these Angels, being so amply, evidently, and with so unanimous consent of the most and best approved Protestant Divines, agreeable to Historicall practise of Apostolicall Churches, proved to have been such Bishops as had a Prelacy over the Clergy with Christs own approbation, a truth, which the evidence of these Scriptures did expresse in part from (a) *Beza* himself; his sentence is large, consisting of these brieses; First, *that the Episcopacy which seemed to him to be regulate, was to be collected out of this Scripture of the Apocalyps.* Secondly, *that the same was a Presidency, and Prefecturesship of one Presbyter over the rest.* Thirdly, *that it was a Prelacy of Authority.* Fourthly, *that* Hierome *was of judgement.* Fifthly, *that to hold otherwise, were to doate and play the fool:* all which prove the difference of Bishop and Presbyter both to have been of Apostolicall Institution, because under *John* in the Church of *Asia*; and to have had the approbation of Christ, because of Christ his commendation of the faithfull discharge of this Function, which fully makes good unto us both our conclusions, *That Episcopacy for the Office and Function it self, is according to the Word of God, and in respect of use, therefore the Best.*

(a) *Beza de Minist. grad. cap. 13. Quid objicis in aetatem Johannis Apost. Asiæ Ecclesia septem habuerunt Episcopos, divinâ non humanâ ordinatione sibi præfectos, Apostolo singulos illos singularum Ecclesiarum Angelos minimè compellaturo, & culpam malè obitæ functionis minimè illi attributuro, nisi eminentior fuisset eorum in Ecclesiæ regimine auctoritas: Hoc, inquam, quorsum advertus Hieronymum & nos torques? nec enim ille, quum diceret Ecclesias initio fuisse communi Presbyterorum consilio gubernatas, ita despuisse existimandus est, ut somniaret neminem ex Presbyterio illi cœtui præfuisse, &c.*

The *Originall* of BISHOPS and METROPOLITANS, briefly laid down by *James*, *Arch-Bishop* of ARMAGH.

THE ground of Episcopacy is derived partly from the patterne perscribed by God in the *Old Testament*; and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the *Apostles* and confirmed by *Christ* himself in the time of the *New*, The government of the Church of the *Old-Testament* was committed to the *Priests* and *Levits*: unto whom the Ministers of the *New* do now succeed; in like sort as *our* Lords-day hath done unto their Sabbath, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, touching the vocation of the Gentiles. (*a*) *I will take of them for Priests, and for Levits, saith the Lord.*

(*a*) Isa. 66. 21.

That the *Priests* were superiour to the *Levits*, no man doubteth: and that there was not a parity, either betwixt the *Priests* or betwixt the *Levits* themselves, is manifest by the word of God; wherein mention is made of the *Heads* and *Rulers* both of the one, and of the other. 1 *Chron.* XXIV. 6.31 and *Ezr.* VIII. 29.

The *Levits* were distributed into the three families of the *Gershonites*, *Cohathites*, and *Merarites*: and over each of them

them God appointed one נָשִׂיא ἄρχων or *Ruler*, *Num.* III. 24. 30. 35. the *Priests* were divided by *David* into four and twenty courses, 1 *Chron.* XXIV. Who likewise had their *Heads*; who in the History of the *New-Testament* are ordinarily called (*b*) ἀρχιερεῖς, or *chief of the Priests*; and clearly distinguished from that singular one, who was the type of our *great High Priest, that is passed into the Heavens, Jesus the Son of God.* Yea in the XI. of *Nehemy*, we find two named *Bishops*, the one of the *Priests*, the other of the *Levits* that dwelt in *Jerusalem*. The former so expressly tearmed by the Greek in the 14. the latter both by the Greek and Latin Interpreter in the * 22 vers. and not without approbation of the Scripture it self, which rendreth the (*d*) Hebrew word of the same originall in the *Old*, by the (*e*) Greeke ἐπισκοπὴ in the *New-Testament.*

Of *Levi* it was said by *Moses* the man of God (*f*) *They shall teach* Jacob *thy judgements, and* Israel *thy law; they shall put incense before thee, and whole brunt sacrifice upon thine Altar.* Because this latter part of their office hath ceased with them, and the Leviticall Altar (the truth prefigured thereby being now exhibited) is quite taken away: May not we therefore conclude out of the former part (which hath no such typicall relation in it) that our *Bishops* and *Presbyters* should be (as the Apostle would have them to be) (*g*) διδακτικοὶ *apt to teach*; (*h*) *able by sound doctrine both to exhort, and to convince the gain-sayers?* Nay, and out of the latter part it self; where God had appointed, that (*i*) *the Priests the Levits and all the Tribe of* Levi *should eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire*; doth not the Apostle by just analogy inferre from thence, that for asmuch as (*k*) *they which waited at the Altar, were partaker with the Altar; even so had the Lord ordained, that they which preached the Gospell, should live of the Gospell?*

With what shew of reason then can any man imagine, that what was instituted by *God* in the *Law*,, for meere matter of Government and preservation of good order (without all respect of type or ceremony;) should now be rejected in the *Gospell*, as a device of *Antichrist*? That what was by the Lord once

b Matth. 2. 4. and 27. Act. 19. 14 &c
c Heb. 4. 14.
* Ἐπισκοπὴ Λευιτῶν. LXX *Episcopus Levitarum.* Hieron.
d פקדה Psal. 109. 8.
e Acts. 1. 20.
f Deut. 33. 10.
g 1 Tim. 3. 2.
h Tit. 1. 9.
i Deut. 28. 1.
k 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14.

once (*l*) *planted a noble vine, wholly a right ſeed,* ſhould now be ſo *turned into the degenerate plant of a ſtrange vine*; that no purging or pruning of it will ſerve the turne, but it muſt be cut down root and branch, as (*m*) *a plant which our heavenly Father had never planted?* But nothing being ſo familiar now a dayes, as to father upon *Antichriſt*, whatſoever in Church matters we do not find to ſuite with our own humors: The ſafeſt way will be, to conſult with Chriſt himſelf herein, and hear what he delivereth in the cauſe.

These things ſaith he, that hath the ſeven Starres. Revel. III. 1. he *owneth* then, we ſee, theſe *Starrs*; whatſoever they be. And, the *Myſtery* of them he thus further openeth unto his beloved Diſciple. *The ſeven Starrs which thou ſaweſt in my right hand, are the Angels of the ſeven Churches.* Revel. I. 20. From which words a learned man, very much devoted to the now ſo highly admired Diſcipline, deduceth this concluſion. (*n*) *How great therefore is the dignity of true paſtours, who are both* STARRES, *fixed in no other firmament then in the right hand of Chriſt, and* ANGELS?

He had conſidered well, that in the Church of *Epheſus* (one of the *ſeven* here pointed at) there were many (*o*) PRESBYTERS, whom *the holy Ghoſt had made* BISHOPS, or *Overſeers, over all that flock, to feed the Church of God, which he had purchaſed with his own blood.* And withall he ſaw, that by admitting one *Angel* there above the reſt (all, as well (*p*) extraordinary *Prophets*, as (*q*) ordinary *Paſtours*, being in their own ſeverall ſtations accounted *Angels* or *Meſſengers* of the Lord of Hoſts) he ſhould be forced alſo to acknowledge the eminency of one *Biſhop* above the other *Biſhops* (that name being in thoſe dayes (*r*) common unto all the *Presbyters*) and to yeeld withall, that ſuch a one was to be eſteemed as *a ſtarre fixed in no other firmament, then in the right hand of Chriſt.*

To ſalve this therefore; all the *ſtarrs* in every Church muſt be preſuppoſed to be of one magnitude, and though thoſe *ſtarrs* which typified theſe *Angels* are ſaid to be but *ſeven*, yet the *Angels* themſelves muſt be maintained to be farre more

l Jerem. 2. 2.

m Matth. 15. 13.

n Quanta igitur dignitas verorum Paſtorum, qui tum ſtellæ ſunt, non in alio firmamento, quàm in dextrâ Chriſti fixæ, tum Angeli? T. Brightman. in Apocalyps. 1. 20.

o Act. 20. 17. 28.

p Judg. 2. 1. Hagg. 1. 13. Matth. 11. 18.

q Malach. 2. 7.

r Philip. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 1. 2. Tit. 1. 5. 7.

more in number: and in fine, where our Saviour saith, (*s*) *unto the Angel of the Church of Ephesus write*; it must by no means be admitted, that (*t*) any *one Angel* should be meant hereby, but the *whole Colledge of Pastors* rather. And all upon pretence of a poor shew of some shallow reasons; that there *was not one Angel of* Ephesus *but many, and among them not any Principal.*

Which wresting of the plain words of our Saviour is so extream violent, that M. *Beza* (though every way as zealously affected to the advancement of the new Discipline, as was the other) could by no means digest it: but ingenuously acknowledgeth the meaning of our Lords direction to have been this. (*u*) *To the Angel, that is, to the President, as whom it behoved especially to be admonished touching those matters; and by him both the rest of his colleagues, and the whole Church likewise.* And that there was then a standing *President* over the rest of the Pastors of *Ephesus*, and he the very same (as learned (*x*) Doctor *Rynolds* addeth) with him whom afterward the Fathers called *Bishop*: may further be made manifest, not only by the succession of the first Bishops of that Church, but also by the clear testimony of *Ignatius*: who (within no greater compasse of time then twelve years afterwards) distinguisheth the singular and constant *President* thereof, from the rest of the number of the *Presbyters*, by appropriating the name of *Bishop* unto him.

As for the former, we find it openly declared in the generall Council of *Chalcedon*, by *Leontius* Bishop of *Magnesia*; that (*y*) from *Timothie* (and so from the dayes of the Apostles) there had been a continued succession of *seven and twenty Bishops*; all of them ordained in *Ephesus*. Of which number the *Angel* of the Church of *Ephesus*, mentioned in the Revelation, must needs be one: whether it were *Timothie* himself, as (*z*) some conceive; or one of his next Successours, as others rather do imagine.

Apocalyps. cap. 2. disp. 2. Alcasa: Proem. in cap. 2, & 3. Apocal. notat. 1. & Petr. Halloix. *Notat. in vit.* Polycarp. cap. 7.

(*s*) Revel. 2. 1.

(*t*) *Nec uni alicui Angelo mittuntur, sed toti (ut ita dicam) Collegio Pastorum; qui omnes hâc communi voce comprehenduntur. Non enim unus erat Angelus Ephesi, sed plures: nec inter istos aliquis Princeps.* Brightman in Apocalyps. 2. 1.

(*u*) Τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, *id est* πρεσβυτέρῳ. *Quem nimirum oportuit inprimis de his rebus admoneri, ac per eum cæteros Collegas totamque adeò Ecclesiam.* Bez. *in* Apocalyps. 2. 1.

(*x*) Conference with *Hart*, c. 8. *divis.* 3.

(*y*) Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ ὁμοπολιτεύοντο, πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐχειροτονήθησαν. *Concil. Chalcedon.* Act. 11.

(*z*) *Vid.* Peter. in

For

For that *Timothie* had been some time (a) πρεσβύτερος (which is the appellation that (b) *Justin Martyr*, in his second Apology for Christians, & (c) *Dionysius* of *Corinth* not long after him, in his epistle to the Church of *Athens*, and (d) *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra* in his Letters to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, do give unto a *Bishop*) or *Antistes*, or *President* of the *Ephesine Presbytery*, is confessed by *Beza* himself: and that he was ordained *the first Bishop* of the Church of the *Ephesians*, we do not only read in the subscription of the second Epistle to *Timothy*, and the Ecclesiastical History of (e) *Eusebius*, but also in two ancient Treatises concerning the martyrdom of *Timothy*; the one nameless in the Library of (f) *Photius*; the other bearing the name of (g) *Polycrates*, even of that *Polycrates*, who was not only himself Bishop of this Church of *Ephesus*, but born also within six or seven and thirty years after S. *John* wrote the fore-named Epistle unto the *Angel* of that Church: as it appeareth by the years he was of, when he wrote that Epistle unto *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, wherein he maketh mention of (h) *seven kinsmen of his who had been Bishops*; he himself being *the eight*.

I come now to the testimony of *Ignatius*: whom (i) *Theodoret*, and (k) *Felix* Bishop of *Rome*, and (l) *John* the Chronographer of *Antioch*, report to have been ordained Bishop of *Antioch* by S. *Peter* in special, *Chrysostome* (who was a Presbyter of the same Church) by (m) the *Apostles* in general; and without all controversie did sit in that See, the very same time wherein that Epistle unto *the Angel of the Church of Ephesus* was commanded to be written.

a *Notandum est ex hoc loco, Timotheum in Ephesino Presbyterio tum fuisse* πρεσβύτατα (i.e. *antistitem*) *ut vocat Justinus.* Bez. *Annotat. in* 1 *Tim.* 5. 19.

b *Qui politiæ causâ reliquis fratribus in cœtu præerat* (q. ē *Justinus* τὸν πρεσβύτατα *vocat*) *peculiariter dici Episcopus cœpit Id. in* Philip. 1. 1.

c *Dionys. Corinth. in epist. ad* Athenienses, *eodem sensu* Publium *martyrem nominat* πρεσβύτατα αὐτῶν, *quo proximum ejus successorem* Quadratum ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν. *apud* Eusebium, *l.* 4. *hist. cap.* 23.

d Δεινὰ κατά τε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ ἡμῶν τὴν πρεσβύτων αὐτῶν τετολμήκασι. *Marcell. Ancyran. apud Epiphanium, hæres.* 72.

e *Euseb. Hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

f Ὅτι πρῶτον Τιμόθεον ἡ παρῶσα συγγραφὴ φησιν Ἐφέσου ἐπισκοπῆσαι & *post* Ὅτι ὁ ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος ἦν τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου καὶ χειροτονεῖται δ' Ἐφεσίων μὴ δὸ πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἐνδρονίζεται. *Phot. Biblioth. num* 254.

g Polycrat. *de martyrio* Timothei: *inter vitas Sanctorum edit. Lovanii anno* 1485.

h Ἑπτὰ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος. Polycrat. *Epist. ad Victorem. apud* Euseb. *l.* 5 *Hist. cap.* 24.

i Theodoret. *in Dialogo* 1. *sive* Ἀτρέπτο.

k Felix III. *in Epist. ad* Zenonem *Imp. recitat in* V *Synodo Constantinopol. Act.* 1. (*tomo* 2. *Concilior. pag.* 220. *edit.* Binnii. *anno* 1606.

l Johan. Malela *Antiochenus, Chronic. lib.* 10 M.S.

m Παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων τῷ ἀρχῷ ταύτῳ ἐνεχειρίσθη, καὶ αἱ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποστόλων χεῖρες τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης ἥψαντο κεφαλῆς. *Jo. Chrysost. in* Ignatii Encomio.

In

In the Isle of *Patmos* had S. *John* his Revelation manifested unto him, (*n*) *toward the end of the Empire of Domitian*, as *Irenæus* testifieth; or the fourteenth year of his government, as (*o*) *Eusebius* and *Hierome* specifie it. From thence there are but *twelve* years reckoned unto the tenth of *Trajan*: wherein *Ignatius*, in that last journey which he made for the consummation of his glorious Martyrdome at *Rome*, wrote another Epistle unto the self-same Church of *Ephesus*. In which he maketh mention of their then Bishop *Onesimus*: as it appears both by (*p*) *Eusebius* citing this out of it, and by the Epistle it self yet extant.

In this Epistle to the Ephesians, *Ignatius* having acckowledged that their (*q*) *numerous multitude* was received by him in the person of their Bishop *Onesimus*, and (*r*) blessed God for granting unto them such a *Bishop* as he was: doth afterwards put them in minde of their (*s*) duty in *concurring* with him, as he sheweth their worthy *Presbytery* did, being (*t*) *so conjoyn'd* (as he saith) *with their Bishop, as the strings are with the Harp*: and toward the end exhorteth them to (*u*) *obey both the Bishop and the Presbytery with an undivided minde.*

In the same journey wrote *Ignatius* also an Epistle unto the Church of *Smyrna*, another of the *seven*, unto whom those letters are directed in S. *Johns* Revelation, wherein he also (*x*) saluteth their *Bishop* and *Presbytery*: exhorting all the people to (*y*) *follow their Bishop, as Christ Jesus did his Father, and the Presbytery, as the Apostles*: and telling them that (*z*) no man ought either to administer the Sacraments, or do any thing appertaining to the Church, without the consent of the *Bishop*.

Who this *Bishop*, and what that *Presbytery* was, appear-

n Πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆ Δομιτιανῆ ἀρχῆς. Iren. *adverſ. hæreſ. lib.* 5. *cap* 30.

o Euſeb. *Chron.* Hier. *Catal. ſcriptor. Eccleſiaſt. in* Johanne.

p Euſeb. *lib.* 3. *hiſt.* κεφ. λε.

q Τῷ πολυπληθείαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπεί-ληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ. Ignat. *epiſt. ad* Epheſ.

r Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν τοιούτοις οὖσι τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον. *Ibid.*

s Ὅθεν ὑμῖν πρέπει συντρέχειν τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. *Ibid.*

t Τὸ δὲ ἀξιονόμαστον πρεσβυτέριον, ἄξιον ὂν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτω συνήρμοσται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ. *Ibid.* u Ὑπακούοντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ. *Ibid.* x Ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιοθεον ἐπίσκοπον [τὸν μὲν Πολύκαρπον] καὶ τὸ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον. *Id. in epiſt. ad Smyrn.* y Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. *Ibid.* z Μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, &c. *Ibid.*

eth by another Epistle written a little after from *Smyrna*, by * *Polycarpus and the Presbyters that were with him*, unto the *Philippians*. And that the same *Polycarpus* was then also *Bishop* there, when S. *John* wrote unto *the Angel of the Church of Smyrna*; who can better inform us then *Irenæus*? who did not only know those worthy men, (a) *who succeeded* Polycarpus *in his See*; but also (b) was present, when he himself did discourse of his conversation with S. *John*, and of those things which he heard from those who had seen our Lord Jesus.

Polycarpus, (c) saith he, *was not only taught by the Apostles and conversed with many of those that had seen Christ, but also was by the Apostles constituted in* Asia *Bishop of the Church which is in Smyrna: whom we our selves also did see in our younger age, for he continued long: & being very aged, he most gloriously and nobly suffering Martyrdome departed this life.*

Now being ordained Bishop of *Smyrna* by the *Apostles*; who had finished their course, and departed out of this life before S. *John* (the last surviver of them) did write his *Revelation*: who but he could there be meant by *the Angel of the Church in Smyrna*? in which that he still held his Episcopal office unto the time of his Martyrdome (which fell out LXXIV. years afterward) may sufficiently appear by this testimony, which the brethren of the Church of *Smyrna*, who were present at his suffering, gave unto him. (d) *He was the most admirable man in our times, an Apostolical and Prophetical Doctor, and Bishop of the Catholick Church which is in Smyrna.* Whereunto we may add the like of *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who lived also in his time and in his neighbourhood, affirming (e) *Polycarpus* to have been *both Bishop and Martyr in Smyrna.* So saith he in his Synodical Epistle directed

* Πολυκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους *Polycarp. epist. ad Philippens.*

a Οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεξάμενοι τὸν τοῦ Πολυκάρπου θρόνον. Iren. adver. hæres. lib. 3. cap 3.

b Id. in epist. ad Florinum: (apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 20) & ad Victorem, (ibid. cap. 24)

c καὶ Πολύκαρπος οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ. ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινε, καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος ἐξόδου καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου Iren. lib. 3. cap 3. Vid. & Euseb. lib. 3. hist. cap. 36. d ὃς γενόμενος ὁ θαυμασιώτατος ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, διδάσκαλος ἐπιφανὴς καὶ μαρτυρικὸς, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τε τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Smyrnens. Eccles. epist. de martyrio* Polycarpi. Euseb. *lib.* 4. *hist. cap.* 15. e Πολύκαρπος, ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς. Polycrat. *epist. ad Victorem*: *apud* Euseb. *lib.* 5. *hist. cap.* 24.

rected unto *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, about 27 years after the Martyrdome of *Polycarpus*; he himself being at that time 65 years of age.

About the very same time wherein *Polycrates* wrote this Epistle unto *Victor*, did *Tertullian* publish his book of Prescriptions against Hereticks: wherein he avoucheth against them, that (*f*) as *the Church of Smyrna had* Polycarpus *placed there by* John, *and the Church of Rome* Clement *ordained by* Peter; *so the rest of the Churches also did shew what Bishops they had received by the appointment of the Apostles, to traduce the Apostolical seed unto them.* And so before him did *Irenæus* urge against them (*g*) *the successions of Bishops, unto whom the Apostles committed the charge of the Church in every place,* (*h*) For all the Hereticks (saith he) *are much later then those Bishops, unto whom the Apostles committed the Churches.* And (*i*) *we are able to number those who by the Apostles were ordained Bishops in the Churches, and their Successours unto our dayes; who neither taught nor knew any such thing as these men dream of.*

For proof whereof, he bringeth in the succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, from (*k*) *Linus* (unto whom the blessed *Apostles* committed that *Episcopacy*) and *Anacletus* (by others called *Cletus*) and *Clement* (*who did both see the Apostles, and conferred with them*) unto (*l*) *Eleutherius*; who when *Irenæus* wrote, *had the charge of that Bishoprick in the twelfth place after the Apostles.* Concerning whom, and the integrity which then continued in each other succession from the Apostles dayes, *Hegesippus*, who at the same time published

f *Sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia* Polycarpum *ab* Johanne *conlocatum refert*; *sicut Romanorum* Clementem *à* Petro *ordinatum edit*: *proinde* (or, *perinde*) *utique cæteri exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici seminis traduces habent.* Tertul. *de Prescript. cap.* 32. *Vid. & ejusd. lib.* 4. *contra* Marcion *cap.* 5.

g *Successiones Episcoporum, quibus Apostolicam quæ in unoquoque loco est Ecclesiam tradiderunt.* Iren. *lib.* 4. *adverss. hæres. cap.* 63.

h *Omnes enim ii valdè posteriores sunt quàm Episcopi, quibus Apostoli tradiderunt Ecclesias. Id. lib.* 5. *cap.* 20.

i *Habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, & successores eorum usque ad nos; qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur. Id. lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.

k Θεμελιώσαντες ἐν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι Ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. (τούτου Λίνου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται.) διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος. μετὰ τοῦτον τῷ τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦται Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἑωρακὼς τοὺς μακαρίους Ἀποστόλους, καὶ συμβεβληκὼς αὐτοῖς. *Id. ibid.* Νῦν δὲ διάδεχεται τόπον τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων κατέχει κλῆρον Ἐλεύθερος. *Ibid.*

his Hiſtory of the Church, ſaith thus. (*m*) *Soter ſucceeded Anicetus, and after him was Eleutherius. Now, in every ſucceſſion, and in every City, all things ſo ſtand, as the Law and the Prophets and our Lord do preach.*

And more particularly concerning the Church of *Corinth*; (*n*) after he had ſpoken of the Epiſtle written unto them by *Clement*, for the repreſſing of ſome factions wherewith they were at that time much troubled (which gave him occaſion to tell them, that (*o*) the *Apoſtles*, of whom he himſelf was an hearer, had perfect intelligence from our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, of the *contention that ſhould ariſe about the name of Epiſcopacy*) he declareth, that after the appeaſing of this tumult, (*p*) the Church of the *Corinthians* continued in the right way, untill the dayes of *Primus*, whom he did viſite in his ſayling toward *Rome*. Which *Primus* had for his ſucceſſour that famous *Dionyſius*, whoſe Epiſtle to the Church of the *Athenians* hath beene before nominated; wherein he put them in minde of (*q*) *the firſt Biſhop* that had been placed over them, even *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, (*r*) S. *Pauls* own convert, a thing whereof they could at that time have no more cauſe to doubt, then we ſhould have, if any queſtion were now made of the Biſhops that were here in King *Edward* the VI. or Queen *Maryes* dayes: I might alſo ſay, in the middle of the raigne of Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf; if with (*ſ*) *Baronius* I would produce the *Areopagites* life unto the government of the Emperour *Hadrian*.

This *Hegeſippus*, living next after *the firſt ſucceſſion of the Apoſtles* (as (*t*) *Euſebius* noteth) and being himſelf a Chriſtian (*u*) of the race of the *Hebrews*; was carefull to record unto poſterity the ſtate of the Church of *Ieruſalem* in the dayes of the Apoſtles, and the alteration that followed after their de-

m Παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτὴρ, μεθ' ὃν Ἐλεύθερος. Ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ Κύριος. *Hegeſip. apud* Euſeb. *lib.* 4. *hiſt.* κεφ. κβ.

n Μετὰ (ita enim ex MS. legendum, non μεγάλα) τινὰ περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῆς αὐτῷ εἰρημένα. Euſeb. *lib.* 4. *hiſtor.* κεφ. κβ. *cum lib.* 3. κεφ ισ.

o Καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν, πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους. *Clemen. epiſt. ad Corinth. pag.* 57. *edit. D.* Patricii Junii. p Καὶ ἐπέμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, μέχρι Πρίμου ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ, οἷς (ita MS. non οἷς) συνέμιξα πλεῶν εἰς Ῥώμην. Hegeſip. apud Euſeb. lib. 4. κεφ. κβ. q *Dionyſ. Corinth. apud eund. Euſeb. lib.* 3. κεφ. δ. *&* *lib.* 4. κεφ. κγ. r Act. 17. 34. ſ *Baron. Annal. tom.* 2. *ann.* 120. t *Euſeb. lib.* 2. κεφ. κγ. Ὁ Ἡγήσιππος (non, ut vulgò legitur, Ἰώσιππος) ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν Ἀποστόλων γενομένου διαδοχῆς. *Egeſippus qui poſt ipſas ſtatim primas Apoſtolorum ſucceſſiones fuit*: ut Rufinus locum expreſſit. u Euſeb. *lib.* 4. κεφ. κβ. *fin.*

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parture out of this life. Where first he sheweth, that (*x*) *Iames* the brother of our Lord, surnamed the *Iust*, did governe that Church together *With the Apostles*: yet so (as (*y*) *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who wrote some twenty years after him, further addeth) that he had this preferment even before the three prime Apostles, *Peter* and the two sons of *Zebedee* (*Iames* and *Iohn*) to be chosen the peculiar *Bishop of Ierusalem*, the then mother Church of the world.

After the death of *Iames* the Iust, (*z*) *Hegesippus* declareth that *Symeon* the sonne of *Clopas* or *Cleophas* was constituted *Bishop*, and so continued untill the dayes of the Emperour *Trajan*: under whom he suffered a glorious Martyrdome (about the same time that *Ignatius* did) being then *an hundred and twenty years of age*; and by that account borne before the Incarnation of our blessed Saviour. Where, the observation of this prime Historian is not to be passed over: that (*a*) untill these times the Church was called a *Virgin*; as being not yet corrupted with the overspreading of heretical doctrine. For howsoever heresies did spring up before, yet they were so kept down by the authority of the Apostles and the Disciples who had heard our Lord himselfe preach; that the authors and fautors thereof were not able to get any great head, being forced (by the authority of such opposites) to lurk in obscurity.

But as soone as all that generation was gathered unto their fathers, and none of those were left who had the happinesse to hear the gracious words that proceeded from the Lords

x Διαδέχεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰακωβος, ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων Δίκαιος. Hegesipp. *Commentarior. lib. 5. apud eund.* Euseb. *lib. 2. cap. 23.*

y Clem. *in libro sexto Hypotyposeôn: ubi narrat,* Πέτρον καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβον τὸν Δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἑλέσθαι. *Apud eund. l. 2. cap. 1.*

z *Apud* Euseb *lib. 4 cap. 22. Vide eund. lib. 3 cap. 11. & 32.* a ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τότε χρόνου παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία. ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει φωλευόντων εἰσέτι τότε τῶν, εἰ καί τινες ὑπῆρχον, βεβηλοῦν ὑπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος. ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διαφορὰν εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος, παρελήλυθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι κατηξιωμένων, τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύγχυσις, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης, οἳ καθάπερ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἀποστόλων λειπομένου, γυμνῇ λοιπὸν ἤδη τῇ κεφαλῇ, τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὸν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχείρουν. Hegesipp. *apud eund. lib. 3. cap. 32.*

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own mouth: the *Hereticks*, taking that advantage, began to enter into a kind of combination, and with open face publickly to maintain the (*b*) *oppositions of their ſcience falſly ſo called* (from whence they aſſumed unto themſelves the name of *Gnoſticks*, or men of knowledge) againſt the preaching of that truth, which by thoſe who were (*c*) *eye-witneſſes* and miniſters of the Word had been (*d*) ONCE *delivered unto the Saints*. (*e*) The firſt beginner of which conſpiracy was one *Thebûthis*: who had at the firſt been bred in one of the *ſeven ſects*, into which the people of the *Jewes* were in thoſe dayes divided; but afterwards, becauſe he miſſed of a *Biſhopricke* unto which he had aſpired, (this of *Jeruſalem*, as it may ſeem; whereunto *Iuſtus*, after the death of *Symeon*, was preferred before him) could think of no readyer a way throughly to revenge himſelf of this diſgraee, than by raiſing up the like diſtractions among the Chriſtians. Which as, in the *effect*, it ſheweth the malignity of that ambitious Sectary: ſo doth it, in the *occaſion*, diſcover withall the great eſteem that in thoſe early dayes was had of Epiſcopacy.

When *Hegeſippus* wrote this Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory (the ancienteſt of any, ſince the Acts of the Apoſtles) *Eleutherius* as we heard before, was Biſhop of the Church of *Rome*: unto whom (*f*) *Lucius King of the Britains* (as our *Bede* relateth) *ſent an Epiſtle*; *deſiring that by his means he might be made Chriſtian. Who preſently obtained the effect of his pious requeſt: and the Britains kept the faith then received, ſound and undefiled in quiet peace, nntill the times of* Diocleſian the *Emperour*. By whoſe bloudy perſecution the faith and diſcipline of our Brittiſh Churches was not yet ſo quite extinguiſhed; but that within ten years after (and eleven before the firſt generall Councell of *Nice*) three of our Biſhops were preſent and ſubſcribed unto the Councel of *Arles*: (*g*) *Eborius* of *York*, *Reſtitutus* of *London*, and *Adelfius* of *Colcheſter*; if that be it, which is called there *Colonia Londinenſium*. The firſt root of whoſe ſucceſſion we muſt fetch beyond *Eleutherius*, and

b Ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως. 1 Tim. 6. 20.

c Luc. 1. 2.

d Jude v. 3.

e Διὸ τοῦτο ἐκάλεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον. ὅπω γὰρ ἔφθαρτο ὑποαῖς ματαίαις. Ἄρχεται δ' ὁ Θεβουθὶς, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑποφθείρειν. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ αἱρέσεων εἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ λαῷ Hegeſipp. apud Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 22.

f *Miſit ad eum* Lucius *Britannorum Rex epiſtolam: obſecrans ut per ejus mandatum Chriſtianus efficeretur. Et mox effectum pia poſtulationis conſecutus eſt: ſuſceptamque fidem Britanni uſque in tempora* Diocletiani *Principis inviolatam integramque quietâ pace ſervabant.* Bed. *hiſt. eccleſiaſt. Anglor. lib.* 1 *cap* 4.

g Tom. 1. *Concilior. Galliæ, à Sirmondo edit pag.* 9.

as

as high as S. *Peter* himself: if it be true, that he (*h*) *constituted Churches here, and ordained Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons* in them; as *Symeon Metaphrastes* relateth out of some part of (*i*) *Eusebius* (as it seemeth) that is not come unto our hands.

But, to return unto the *Angels of the seven Churches*, mentioned in the Revelation of S. *John*: by what hath been said, it is apparent, that *seven* singular *Bishops*, who were the constant Presidents over those Churches, are pointed at under that name. For other sure they could not be, if all of them were cast into one mould, and were of the same quality with *Polycarpus*, the then *Angel* of *the Church in Smyrna*: who without all question was such, if any credit may be given herein unto those that saw him and were well acquainted with him.

And as *Tertullian* in expresse termes affirmeth him to have been placed there by S. *John* himself (in the testimony before alledged out of his (*k*) *Prescriptions*:) so doth he else-where, from the order of the succeeding Bishops, not obscurely intimate, that the rest of that number were to be referred unto the same descent. (*l*) *We have*, saith he, *the Churches that were bred by* John. *For although* Marcion *do reject his Revelation: yet the order of the Bishops reckoned up unto their originall, will stand for* John *to be their Founder.*

Neither doth the ancient Writer of the Martyrdome of *Timothy* (mentioned by *Photius*) mean any other by those *seven Bishops*, whose assistance he saith S. *John* did use, after his return from *Patmos*, in the government of *the Metropolis of the Ephesians*. For (*m*) *being revoked from his exile*, saith he, *by the sentence of* Nerva, *he betook himself to the Metropolis of Ephesus; and being assisted with the presence of* SEVEN *Bi-*

h Ἐπιμέινας τε ἀν Βρετανία ἡμέρας τινὰς, καὶ πολλὰς τῷ λόγῳ φωτίσας τὸ χάειτος, ἐκκλησίας τε συστησάμενος, ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους χειροτονήσας, δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τὸ Καίσαρος Νέρωνος αὖθις εἰς Ῥώμην παραγίνεται. *Metaphrast. Commentar. de* Petro *&* Paulo; *ad diem* 29 *Junii.*

i Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου δώδεκα μὲν ἔτη διατείνας Πέτρου λέγει ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, εἴκοσι δὲ καὶ τέσσαρα πεποιηκέναι ἔτη τὸν Παῦλον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ Βρεταννίᾳ καὶ τὰς πρὸς δύσιν πόλεις. *Ibid.*

k Tertull. *Præscript. c.* 32. *Similiter &* Hieronymus *in Catal. script. Ecclesiast. cap.* 17. *in* Polycarpo; *&* Nicephorus, *lib.* 3. *hist. ecclesiast. cap.* 2. l *Habemus &* Johannis *alumnas Ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus* Marcion *restituit; ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem recensus, in* Johannem *stabit auctorem. Sic & cæterarum generositas recognoscitur.* Tertullian. *adverſ.* Marcion. *lib.* 4. *c.* 5. m Ψηφίσματι Νέρβα τῆς ἀπελεύσεως ἀναληθείς, τὴν Ἔφεσίων ἀπέρχεται μητρόπολιν, καὶ αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὰ συμπαρόντων ὁπισκόπων, τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἀντιλαμβάνεται μητροπόλεως, καὶ διήρκεσε τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας κηρύγματα λόγου ἄχρι τῆς βασιλείας Τραϊανοῦ. Phot. *Bibliothec. num.* 254.

shops

shops, he took upon him the government of the Metropolis of the Ephesians: and continued, preaching the word of piety, untill the Empire of Trajan.

That he remained with the *Ephesians* and the rest of the brethren of *Asia*, untill the dayes of *Trajan*, and that during the time of his abode with them, he published his *Gospel*; is sufficiently witnessed by (*n*) *Ireneus*. That upon his return from the Iland, after the death of *Domitian*, he applyed himself to the government of the Churches of *Asia*, is confirmed likewise both by (*o*) *Eusebius*, and by (*p*) *Hierom*: who further addeth, that (*q*) at the earnest intreaty of the *Bishops of Asia* he wrote there his *Gospel*.

And that he himselfe also, being free from his banishment, did ordaine *Bishops* in diverse Churches, is clearely testified by *Clement* of *Alexandria*: who lived in the next age after, and delivereth it as a certain truth, which he had received from those who went before him, and could not be farre from the time wherein the thing it self was acted. (*r*) When S. *John* (saith he) Domitian *the Tyrant being dead, removed from the Iland of* Patmos *unto* Ephesus, *by the intreaty of some he went also unto the neighbouring nations; in some places constituting Bishops, in others founding whole Churches.*

Among these neighbouring Churches was that of *Hierapolis:* which had *Papias* placed (*s*) *Bishop* therein. That this man was (*t*) *a hearer of S.* John, *and a companion* of Polycarpus, is testified by his own Schollar (*u*) *Irenæus*: and that he conversed with (*x*) the *disciples of the Apostles*, and of *Christ* also; he himself doth thus declare, in the Proëme of the five books which he intituled, A declaration of the words of the Lord.

n Irenæus *adverſ. hæreſ. l. 2. cap. 39 item. lib. 3. c. 1. & 3.*

o Euseb. *lib. 3. hiſt. cap 23.*

p Hieronym. *in Catal. ſcrip. Eccleſiaſt c. 9.*

q *Id. ibid. & Præfat. in Evangel.* Matthæi.

r Ἐπειδὴ τῷ τυράννῳ τελευτήσαντι ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου ἡ νῆσος μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπήει παρακαλούμενος ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα ἔθνη, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ὁρμώσων.

Clem. Alexandrin. *in lib. de divite ſalvando,* (*qui falſo* Origenis *nomine habetur editus, ad calcem tomi 3. Commentariorum* Michaelis *Ghiſlerii.*) Euseb. *hiſt. lib. 3. cap 23.*

s Euseb. *lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 35.* Hieron. *Catal. ſcript Eccleſiaſt. cap. 18. & Chronic. ad ann.* Trajani 2.

t Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστὴς, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονὼς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ. Irenæus *adverſ. hæreſ lib. 5 cap. 33.*

u Irenæus, *vir Apoſtolicorum temporum & Papiæ auditoris Evangeliſtæ* Johannis *diſcipulus, Epiſcopus Eccleſiæ Lugdunenſis.* Hieronym. *epiſt. 29. ad* Theodoram.

x Hi ſunt *Presbyteri Apoſtolorum diſcipuli;* quorum *Irenæus,* lib. 5. cap. 36. meminit.

If

(y) *If upon occasion any of the Presbyters, which had accompanied the Apostles, did come; I diligently enquired what were the speeches which the Apostles used, what* Andrew *or what* Peter *did say, or what* Philip, *or* Thomas, *or* James, *or* John, *or* Matthew, *or some other of the disciples of the Lord; and the things that* Aristion *and* John *the Elder, our Lords disciples, did speak.* The two last of whom he often cited by name in the processe of the work; relating the passages in this kind which he had heard from them.

Neither can any man be so simple as to imagine, that in the language of *Clemens Alexandrinus* the name of a *Bishop* should import no more then a bare *Presbyter*: if he consider, that not the (*a*) difference only betwixt *Presbyters*, *Bishops* and *Deacons* is by him acknowledged; but further also, that the disposition of their three offices, in his judgement, doth carry with it (*b*) an *imitation of the Angelicall glory*. To say nothing of the Emperour *Hadrian*: who, hard upon the time of the fore-named *Papias*, writing unto the Consul *Servianus* touching the state of things in *Ægypt*, maketh distinct mention in his letter of (*c*) the *Presbyters of the Christians*, and of those (*d*) who call themselves the *Bishops of Christ*.

And thus having deduced *Episcopacy* from the Apostolicall times; and declared, *that the Angels of the seven Churches* were no other, but such as in the next age after the Apostles were by the Fathers tearmed *Bishops*: we are now further to enquire, why these Churches are confined unto the number of *seven*, in the superscription of that Apostolicall Epistle prefixed before the book of the Revelation. (*e*) *John to the seven Churches in* Asia: *Grace be unto you and peace.* where S. *John*

y Εἰ δέ πε καὶ τὶς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρηκολουθηκὼς τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις ἔλθοι, τὰς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀνέκρινον λόγους (ita enim ex Græcis MSS. & vetere Rufini versione locus est restituendus) τί Ἀνδρέας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί φίλιππος, ἢ τί Θωμᾶς, ἢ Ἰάκωβος, ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἅτε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. Papias, in Proœmio Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως, apud Euseb. lib. 3. hist. cap. 39.

x Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι γενέσθαι, ὀνόμασι γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις. Euseb. ibid. a Μυρίαι δέ ὅσαι ὑπομνήσαι, εἰς πρόσωπα ἐκλεκτὰ διατείνασαι ἐγγεγράφαται ταῖς βίβλοις ταῖς ἁγίαις. αἱ μὲν πρεσβυτέρους, αἱ δὲ ἐπισκόπους, διακόνους ἄλλαι χήρας. Clem. Alexandr. Pædagog. lib. 3. cap. ult. b Αἱ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔχουσι, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, μιμήματα εἶναι τῆς ἀγγελικῆς δόξης. Id. Stromat. lib. 6. c *Nemo Christianorum Presbyter.* Hadrian. epist. ad Servian apud Pl. Vopisc. in vitâ *Saturnini.* d *Qui se Christi Episcopos dicunt.* Id. ibid. e Revel. 1. 4.

directing his letters unto them thus indefinitly, without any mention of their particular names; cannot by common intendment be conceived to have understood any other thereby, but such as by some degree of eminency were distinguishable from all the rest of the Churches that were in *Asia*, and in some sort also did comprehend all the rest under them.

For taking *Asia* here in that stricter sense, wherein the New Testament useth it, as denoting the *Lydian Asia* alone (of the circuit whereof I have treated (*f*) elsewhere more particularly) it is not to be imagined, that after so long pains taken by the Apostles and their disciples in the husbanding of that part of the Lords vineyard, there should be found no more but *seven* Churches therein, especially since S. *Paul* that (*g*) *wise master-builder* professeth, that he had here (*h*) *a great door and effectuall opened* unto him: and S. *Luke* testifieth accordingly, that (*i*) *all they which dwelt in* Asia *heard the word of the Lord Iesus, both Iews and Greeks*; *so mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed.* Which extraordinary blessing of God upon his labours, moved the Apostle to make his residence (*k*) in those parts for *the space of three years*: wherein he *ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears.*

So that in all reason we are to suppose, that these *seven* Churches (comprising all the rest within them) were not bare *Parochiall* ones, or so many particular congregations; but *Dioceſan* Churches (as we use to call them) if not *Metropoliticall* rather. For that in (*l*) *Laodicea*, *Sardis*, *Smyrna*, *Ephesus* and (*m*) *Pergamus*, the Roman governours held their Courts of justice, to which all the Cities and Towns about, had recourse for the ending of their suites; is noted by *Pliny*. And besides these (which were the greatest) *Thyatira* is also by (*n*) *Ptolomy* expressly named a *Metropolis*: as *Philadelphia* also is, in the (*o*) Greek Acts of the Councell of *Constantinople* held under *Menas*. Which giveth us good ground to conceive, that the *seven* Cities, in which these *seven* Churches had their seat, were all of them *Metropoliticall*, and so had relation unto the rest of the Townes and Cities of *Asia*, as unto *daughters* rising under them.

f Disquisit. touching the *Asia* properly so called, &c. chap. 2.

g 1 Cor. 3. 10.

h 1 Cor. 16. 8, 9.

i Act. 19. 10, 20.

k Act. 20. 18. 31.

l Plin. *lib.* 5. *hist. natur. cap.* 29.

m *Id. ibid. c.* 30.

n Ptolem. *Geograph. lib.* 5.

o *Concil. Constantinop. sub* Menâ, *Act.* 5.

This

This *Lydian Asia* was separated from *Caria* by the river *Mæander*: upon the banks whereof *Magnesia* and *Trallis* were seated, to the Christians whereof *Ignatius* directed two of his epistles; wherein he maketh mention of *Damas* Bishop of the one Church, and *Polybius* Bishop (or (*p*) *Ruler*, as *Eusebius* calleth him) of the other, whom they had sent to visit him at *Smyrna*, adding withall in that to the *Trallians*, his usuall admonitions. (*q*) *Be subject to the Bishop, as to the Lord*: and (*r*) *to the Presbytery, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope.* (*s*) *He that doth any thing without the Bishop and the Presbyters and the Deacons, such a one is defiled in conscience.* (*t*) *Fare ye well in Jesus Christ; being subject to the Bishop, and likewise to the Presbyters.*

Wherein we may note, that within *twelve* years after mention of the *seven* Churches made in the *Apocalyps* (for then, as hath been shewed, were these epistles of *Ignatius* written) other Episcopal cities are found in the same *Lydian Asia*; and two such, as in after times are well known to have been (*u*) under the government of the *Metropolitan of Ephesus*. But whether this subordination were as ancient as the dayes of *Ignatius* (whose Epistles are extant unto these three Churches) and (*x*) *Damas* the then Bishop of *Magnesia*, with *Polybius* of *Trallis*, were at that time subject to *Onesimus* the Bishop of *Ephesus*, might well be doubted: but that the same *Ignatius* directeth one of his Epistles unto the Church (*y*) *which had presidency in the place of the Region of the Romans*; and in the body thereof doth attribute unto himself the title of *the Bishop of Syria*. Whereby, as he intimateth himself to have been not onely the Bishop of *Antioch*, but also of the rest of the province of *Syria*, which was under that *Metropolis*: so doth he likewise not obscurely signifie that the Bishop of *Rome* had at that time a presidency over the Churches that were in the (*z*) *Urbicarian Region*, as the Imperiall Constitutions, or the

p Ἄρχοντα. Euseb. *lib.* 3. *hist. cap.* 35.

q Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάγητε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ. Ignat. *epist. ad* Trallian.

r Ὑποτάγητε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν. *Ibid.*

s Ὁ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσων, οὗτος συνείδησιν μεμίανται. *Ib.*

t Ἔρρωσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, &c. *Ibid.*

u Ordo Metropolitar. in Append. Geograph. sacr. Caroli à S. Paulo, pag. 11. & in tomo 1. Juris Græco-Romani, à Jo. Leunclavio edit. pag. 90.

x Euseb. lib. 3. hist. cap. 35.

y Ἥτις προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων. Ignat. epist. ad Roman.

z *Ex Urbicaria Regione.* Cod. Theod. lib. 11. tit. 2. leg. 3.

* *Ex Provinciâ Romanâ, civitate Portuen*, &c. In nominibusquæ Concilio Arelatensi I. præfixa leguntur.

a *Insuper præter septem collaterales Episcopos erant alii Episcopi, qui dicuntur suffraganei Romani Pontificis, nulli alii Primati vel Archiepiscopo subjecti; qui frequenter ad Synodos vocarentur.* MS. Vatican apud Baron. ann. 1057. S. 23.

b Οἷς ἂν οἱ Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοποι ἐπιστέλλοντες εὐδοκήσωσιν: *saith* Nicephorus Callist. lib. 6. Hist. cap. 29. *but* Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. *more fully*, οἷς ἂν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπισκόποι τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιστέλλοιεν.

* *Roman Province*, as the Acts of the first Councell of *Arles* call it.

What that *Urbicarian Region* was, I will not now stand to discusse: whether *Tuscia* onely, wherein *Rome* it selfe was situated (which in the dayes of *Ignatius* was one entire region, but afterwards divided into *Tuscia Suburbicaria* and *Annonaria*) or the territory wherein the *Præfectus Urbis* did exercise his jurisdiction (which was confined within the compasse of a hundred miles about the City) or, with that, those other provinces also whereunto the authority of the *Vicarius Urbis* did extend; or lastly the circuit within which those 69. Bishopricks were contained that (*a*) were immediatly subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, and frequently called to his *Synods*: the names whereof are found registred in the Records of that Church. The antiquity of which number, as it may in some sort receive confirmation from the *Roman Synod of seventy Bishops* held under *Gelasius*: so for the distinction of the Bishops which belonged to the city of *Rome*, from those that appertained to *Italy*, we have a farre more ancient testimony from the Edict of the Emperour *Aurelian*; who in the controversie that arose betwixt *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Domnus* for the house which belonged unto the Church of *Antioch*, commanded that it should be delivered to them, (*b*) to whom the *Bishops* of *Italy* and *Rome* should by their letters declare that it ought to be given. Which distinction, aswell in the forecited (*c*) Acts of the Councell of *Arles*, as in the Epistles of the (*d*) *Sardican* Synod and (*e*) *Athanasius*, may likewise be observed: the name of *Italy* being in a more strict sense applyed therein to the *seven* Provinces, which were under the *Civill* jurisdiction of the *Vicarius* or Lieutenant of *Italy*, and the *Ecclesiasticall* of the Bishop of *Millaine*.

And it is well worth the observing, that the Fathers of the

c. *Ex Provinciâ Italia, civitate Mediolanen*, &c. *Ex Provinciâ Romanâ, civitate Portuen.* ut suprà. d Ἡ ἁγία συνοδος συναχθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας Synod. Sardic. epist. ad Alexandrin. in 2. Athanasii Apologiâ (tomo 1. Oper edit. Commelin. pag. 588.) e Ἀπό τε τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης. Athanas. epist. ad solitar. vit. agentes. (ibid. pag. 640.)

great

great Councell of *Nice* afterwards confirming this kinde of primacy, in the Biſhops of *Alexandria*, *Rome* and *Antioch*, and (*f*) in the Metropolitans of other Provinces; do make their entrance into that Canon with Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω. *Let the* ANCIENT *cuſtomes continue.* Which as it cleareth the antiquity of the Metropoliticall juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſo doth it likewiſe confirm the opinion of thoſe, who conceive the Metropolitan of *Alexandria* to be meant in that paſſage of the Emperour *Hadrians* epiſtle unto *Servianus*. (*g*) *Even the very Patriarch himſelf, when he commeth into Egypt, is by ſome compelled to adore Serapis, and by others to worſhip Chriſt.* As if, upon his returning into *Egypt*, either from his viſitation of *Lybia* and *Pentapolis* (which this ſame *Nicene* Canon ſheweth to have of old belonged unto his care) or from his flight in that preſent time of perſecution; he ſhould ſuffer this diſtraction: the heathen labouring to compell him to the worſhip of *Serapis*, and his own Chriſtian flock on the other ſide ſtriving to keep him conſtant in the ſervice of *Chriſt*. For that either the Heathen had *will*, or the Chriſtians *power* at that time to force the *Jewiſh* Patriarch (of whom ſome do underſtand the place) to the adoration of *Chriſt*; hath no manner of probability in it.

That part alſo of the Canon, which ratifieth the ancient rights of Metropolitans of all other Provinces, may ſerve to open unto us the meaning of that complaint which, ſome threeſcore and ten years before the time of this Synod, S. *Cyprian* made againſt *Novatianus*; for the confuſion which by his ſchiſme he brought upon the Churches of God: that (*h*) *Whereas long ſince in all Provinces, and in all Cities, Biſhops had been ordained, in age ancient, ſound in faith, tryed in affliction, proſcribed in perſecution; yet took he the boldneſſe to create other falſe Biſhops over their heads.* Namely, ſubordinate *Biſhops* in every *City*, and *Metropolitans* in every *Province*.

In *Africke* at that time, although there were many civill

f Ὁμοίως ὃ κὴ κατ' τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, κὴ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. καθόλου δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον. Conci. Nicæn. 1. Can. 6.

g *Ipſe ille Patriarcha quum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Chriſtum.* Hadrian. epiſt. ad Servian. apud Vopiſc. in *Saturnino.*

h *Cùm jampridem per omnes provincias, & per urbes ſingulas, ordinati ſint Epiſcopi in ætate antiqui, in fide integri, in preſſurâ probati, in perſecutione proſcripti; ille ſuper eos creare alios pſeudo-epiſcopos audeat.* Cyprian Epiſt. 52.

Provinces

Provinces, yet was there but one Eccleſiaſticall: whereof *Cyprian* himſelf was (*i*) *Archbiſhop*; as the Fathers of the *Trullan* Synod call him. *It pleaſed*, ſaith he in one of his Epiſtles, (*k*) *all the Biſhops conſtituted either in our Province or beyond the Sea*: intimating thereby, that all the Biſhops which were on his ſide the Sea did belong unto one Province. (*l*) *For our Province*, ſaith he in another place, *is ſpread more largely*; *having* Numidia *alſo*, *and both the* Mauritaniaes, *annexed unto it*. Whence that great Councell aſſembled by him for determining the queſtion touching the baptizing of thoſe that had been baptized by Hereticks, is ſaid to be gathered (*m*) *out of the Province of Africa*, *Numidia*, *and Mauritania*. For howſoever in the civill government, the *Proconſular Africa* (wherein *Carthage* was ſeated) *Numidia* and both the *Mauritanies* (*Sitifenſis* and *Cæſarienſis*) were accounted three diſtinct Provinces: yet in the Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration they were joyned together and made but one Province, immediately ſubject to the Metropoliticall juriſdiction of the prime See of *Carthage*.

Some threeſcore years before this *African* Councell was held by *Cyprian*, thoſe other Provinciall Synods were aſſembled by the Metropolitans of ſundry nations, fot the compoſing of the Paſchall controverſie, then hotly purſued: and among the reſt, that in our neighbour country, out of (*n*) *the Pariſhes* (for ſo, in the ancient language of the Church, thoſe precincts were named, which now we call *Dioceſes*) *of which Irenæus had the ſuperintendency*; whence alſo he wrote that free Epiſtle unto *Victor* Biſhop of Rome, (*o*) *in the perſon of thoſe brethren over whom he was Preſident*. At which time (and before) the (*p*) moſt famous *Metropoles* of that Country, and ſo the (*q*) moſt eminent *Churches* therein, were *Lyons* and *Vienna*; in the one whereof *Irenæus* * was then no leſſe renowned a Prelat, then *Cyprian* was afterwards in *Africa*.

Dionyſius, the famous Biſhop of *Corinth*, was elder then they

i Τῆ Κυπριανῷ τ γενομένῃ ἀρχιεπισκόπῃ τ Ἄφρων χώρας. Concil. Conſtantinop. in Trullo, Can. 2.

k *Univerſis Epiſcopis, vel in noſtrâ provinciâ, vel trans mare conſtitutis.* Cyprian. epiſt. 40.

l *Quoniam latiùs fuſa eſt noſtra provincia; habet etiam Numidiam & Mauritanias duas ſibi cohærentes.* Id. Epiſt. 45

m *Ex provincia Africâ, Numidiâ, Mauritaniâ.* Concil. Cypriani.

n Τῶν κτ Γαλλίαν παροικιῶν ἃς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπισκόπει. Euſeb. hiſtor. lib. 5. cap 23.

o Ἐκ προσώπου ὧν ἡγεῖτο κτ τῶν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφῶν. Ibid. cap 26.

p Ἧς μητρόπολεις ἐπισημοι καὶ ἄλλα τὰς αὐτόθι διαφέρουσαι, βεβόηνται Λύγδουνος καὶ Βίεννα. Ibid. cap. 1. q Αἱ τῆδε διαφανέσταται ἐκκλησίαι. Id. ibid. * ὃς τῆς Πολυκάρπου διδασκαλίας ἀπήλαυσεν, ἠγεγόνει τε φωστὴρ Γαλατῶν τῆδε ἑσπερίων. Theodoret. in Ἀτρέπτῳ.

they: who among many other Epistles, directed one (*r*) to the Church of *Gortyna*, and all the rest of the Churches of *Crete*; wherein he saluted *their Bishop Philip*. Whereby it appeareth, that at that time, aswell as in the ages following, (*s*) *Gortyna* was the *Metropolis*, and the *Bishop* thereof the *Metropolitan* of all the rest of that whole Island. Which kinde of superintendency there, *Eusebius* (the ancientest Ecclesiasticall Historian now extant) deriveth from the very times of *Titus*; whom, out of the histories that were before his time, he relateth to have held (*t*) *the Bishoprick of the Churches in Crete*. With whom the Grecians of after times do fully concurre; as appeareth both by the subscription annexed by them unto the Epistle of S. *Paul* (*u*) to *Titus*, *ordained* (as there they say) *the first Bishop of the Church of the Cretians*; and by the argument prefixed by them before the same, speaking of him to the same effect, that (*x*) *he was by* Paul *ordained Bishop of that great country*, and *had commission to ordain the Bishops that were under him*, which they gather out of those words of S. *Paul* unto him. (*y*) *For this cause left I thee in* Crete, *that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee*. Out of which M. *Calvin* collecteth this doctrine unto us for the generall. *We learn out of this place, that there was not then such an equality betwixt the ministers of the Church, but that there was some one who was president over the rest both in authority and in counsell*. And S *Chrysostom*, for the particular of *Titus*, (a) *Had he not been an approved man, he would not have committed that whole Iland unto him: he would not have commanded him to supply the things that were defective; he would not have committed unto him the judgement of so many Bishops, if he had not had very great confidence in the man*. And Bishop *Jewell*

r Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ παροικούσῃ Γόρτυναν, ἅμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς καὶ Κρήτῃ παροικίαις ἐπιστέλας, Φίλιππον ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυσι. *Id. lib.* 4. *cap.* 23.

s Subscript. Concil. Chalcedon. Act. 6. & Concil. Constantinop. sub Menâ, Act. 5. & Synodi V. generat. Constantinop. Collat. 8.

t Τιμόθεος τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τῷ ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι· ὡς καὶ Τίτος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν. *Id lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.

u Πρὸς Τίτον τὸν Κρητῶν ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα.

x Ἐπίσκοπος Κρήτης, μεγίστης οὔσης, κεχειροτόνητο ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου, ἐπετέταπτο δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους χειροτονῆσαι. Theodoret. argument. epist ad Tit. in Oecomenio.

y Tit. 1. 5.

z *Discimus ex hoc loco, non eam fuisse tunc æqualitatem inter Ecclesiæ ministros; quin unus aliquis autoritate & consilio præesset.* Calvin. in Tit. 1. 5.

a Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν δόκιμος, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ὁλόκληρον ἐπέτρεψεν, οὐκ ἂν τὰ ἐλλειφθέντα ἀναπληρῶσαι προσέταξεν (Ἵνα γάρ, φησι, τὰ λείποντα διορθώσῃ) οὐκ ἂν τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἐθάρρει τῷ ἀνδρί. Chrysost. in Tit. 1. Homil. 1.

upon

upon him again. *Having the government of many Biſhops; what may we call him but an Archbiſhop?*

Which is not ſo much to be wondred at, when we ſee that the Biſhops of another Iland ſtick not (and that without any controll) to deduce the ordination of their *Metropolitan* from the Apoſtolick times, in the face of the whole generall Councell of *Epheſus*. For whereas the *Patriarch* of *Antioch* did claim an intereſt in the ordaining of the *Metropolitan* of *Cyprus*: the Biſhops of that Iland preſcribed to the contrary, that (*b*) from the time of *the holy Apoſtles it could never be ſhewed, that the Biſhop of* Antioch *was ever preſent at any ſuch ordination, or did ever communicate the grace of ordination to that Iland*; and that the former Biſhops of *Conſtantia* (the *Metropolis* of *Cyprus*) *Troilus, Sabinus, Epiphanius,* (*c*) and *all the holy and orthodoxe Biſhops which were before them, ever ſince the holy Apoſtles, were conſtituted by thoſe which were in Cyprus,* and therefore deſired that (*d*) *as in the beginning from the times of the Apoſtles, and by the conſtitutions and canons of the moſt holy and great Synod of* Nice, *the Synod of the* Cyprian *Biſhops remained untouched and ſuperiour to privy undermings and open power*; ſo they might ſtill be continued in the poſſeſſion of their ancient right. Whereupon the Councell condemning the attempt of the Biſhop of *Antioch*, as (*e*) an *innovation brought in againſt the Eccleſiaſticall laws and the canons of the holy Fathers*; did not only order, that (*f*) *the governours of the Churches which were in* Cyprus *ſhould keep their own right entire and inviolable, according to the Canons of the holy Fathers and their ancient cuſtome*: but alſo (*g*) for

b *A ſanctis Apoſtolis nunquam poſſunt oſtendere quod adfuerit Antiochenus & ordinaverit, vel communicaverit unquam inſulæ ordinationis gratiam, neque alius quiſquam.* Concil. Epheſin. Act. 7.

c *Et nunc memorati Epiſcopi, & qui a ſanctis Apoſtolis erant omnes orthodoxi, ab his qui in Cypro conſtituti ſunt.* Ibid.

d *Sicut initio à temporibus Apoſtolorum & conſtitutionibus & canonibus ſanctiſſimæ & magnæ Synodi Nicænæ; illæſa & ſuperior inſidiis & potentiâ permanſit noſtra Cypriorum Synodus.* Ibid.

e Παράγμα παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς θεσμὰς καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καινοτομούμενον. Ibid.

f Ἔξωσι τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον ὃ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον φυλάττοντες καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν. Ibid.

g Τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται. ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν, ἣν οὐσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχειν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καταλαμβάνειν & paulo pòſt. Ἔδοξε τοίνυν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ, σώζεσθαι ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀβίαστα τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα δίκαια αὐτῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄνωθεν, καὶ τὸ πάλαι κρατῆσαν ἔθος. ibid.

all

all other Dioceſes and Provinces whereſoever; that no Biſhop ſhould intrude himſelf into any other Province, which had not formerly and *from the beginning* been under him or his predeceſſours.

The *beginning* of which kind of ſubordination of many Biſhops unto one chief, if it were not to be derived from *Apoſtolicall* right; yet it is by *Beza* fetched (*h*) from the ſame light of *Nature* and enforcement of *Neceſſity*, whereby men were at firſt induced to enter into conſociations, ſubjected one unto another; and by *Bucer* acknowledged to have (*i*) *been conſentaneous to the Law of Chriſt*, and to have *been done by the right of the body of Chriſt*; and by all men muſt be confeſſed to be conformable to the pattern delivered by *God* unto *Moſes*. For having ſet apart the three families of the *Levites* for his own ſervice, and conſtituted a *chief* (as we have heard) over every of them: he placed immediately over them all, not *Aaron* the *High Prieſt*, but *Eleazar* his ſon, ſaying, (*k*) *Eleazar, the ſon of Aaron the Prieſt, ſhall be chief over the chief of the Levites; and have the overſight of them that keep the charge of the Sanctuary.*

In reſpect of which *overſight*, as he hath by the *Septuagint* (warrantably enough by the Word of God) given unto him the name of (*l*) a *Biſhop*: ſo the Holy Ghoſt having vouchſafed to honour him with the title of נשיא נשיא הלוי (*m*) ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν Λευιτῶν, *the Preſident of the Preſidents of the Levites*; none, that without prejudice did take the matter into conſiderarion, would much ſtick to afford unto him the name of an *Arch-biſhop*, at leaſt he would be taught hereby, to retain that reverend opinion of the primitive *Biſhops* of the *Chriſtian* Church (who ſo willingly ſubmitted themſelves, not only to the *Archiepiſcopal*, but alſo to a *Patriarchical* government) which *Calvin* profeſſed he did: that in all this, they were far from having a thought, (*n*) *to deviſe another form of Church-government, then that which God had preſcribed in his Word.*

h *Neque verò magis exiſtimandum eſt, hunc externum ordinem fuiſſe initio humani generis. Pagi enim ex familiis, & ex pagis urbes, & ex urbibus civitates ipſæ, ſuadente naturâ & neceſſitate flagitame, ſenſim coierunt; aliis aliorum exemplum ſequutis.* Bez. de diverſ. gradib. miniſtr. contr. Sarav. cap. 24. ſect. 4.

i *Atque hoc conſentiebat legi Chriſti, fiebatque ex jure corporis Chriſti.* M. Bucer. de vi & uſu S. Miniſterii. (inter ſcripta ejus Anglicana, pag. 565.)

k Num. 3. 32.

l Ἐπισκοπῆς Ἐλεαζαρ. LXX. Num. 4. 16. m id. Num. 3. 32. n *Reperiemus veteres Epiſcopos non aliam regendæ Eccleſiæ formam voluiſſe fingere ab eâ quam Deus Verbo ſuo præſcripſit.* Calvin. Inſtitut. lib. 4. cap. 4. ſect. 4.

The Writers, which in the next age after the Apoſtles, have here given teſtimony for Epiſcopacy.

IN the XIIII. year of *Domitian*, about the XCV. year of our Lord (according to the vulgar account) S. *John* wrote his Revelation; and in it, the Epiſtle directed by our Saviour *to the Angel of the Church in Philadelphia.* No longer then twelve years after that time, *Ignatius* (S. *Johns* Schollar) writeth his Letters unto the ſame Church. In the beginning whereof, he giveth this teſtimony unto their *Biſhop*; that (*a*) *he knew him to have been promoted, not of himſelf, nor by men, unto that Miniſtery, pertaining to the publick weal of the Church*: which is every whit as much, as if he had called him their *Angel*. Afterwards he telleth them, that there is but (*b*) *one Biſhop*, joyned *with the Presbytery and the Deacons*: and that he delivered this as the voice of God; (*c*) *Take heed unto your Biſhop, and to the Presbytery and the Deacons*, (*d*) calling him to witneſſe, for whom he was bound (and for whom he went then unto his laſt martyrdome) that he had not this from humane fleſh (or from the mouth of men) but that the Spirit ſpake it. *Without the Biſhop do nothing.* So that from S. *Johns* time, we have this continued ſucceſſion of witneſſes, in the age next following, for Epiſcopacy.

a ἔγνων ὅτι ἐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἠξιώθη τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήκουσαν ἐγχειρισθῆναι. Ignat. epiſt. ad Philadelph.

b εἷς ἐπίσκοπος, ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. Ibid.

c Οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ μηδὲν ποιεῖτε χωρὶς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. Ibid.

d Μάρτυς μοι, δι' ὃν δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σώματος ἀνθρώπου (al. ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης) οὐκ ἔγνων τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυξε [μοι,] λέγον τάδε. Χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. Id. ibid. cum Antiocho, Serm. 124.

In the year:

CVII. *Ignatius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, where firſt they were called *Chriſtians.*

CXXX. *Hadrian* the Emperor, touching the Biſhops of *Ægypt.*

CL. *Juſtin* Martyr, from *Samaria.*

CLXIX. The Church of *Smyrna.*

CLXXV. *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Corinth.*

CLXXX. *Hegeſippus*, from *Judea.*
Irenæus, Biſhop of *Lions*, near unto us.

CXCV. *Tertullian*, from *Africk.*
Polycrates, Biſhop of *Epheſus.*

CC. *Clemens*, Presbyter of *Alexandria.*

THE

The Apoſtolicall Inſtitution of Episcopacy; deduced out of the premiſes, by *W. C.*

IF we abſtract from Epiſcopall government all accidentals, and conſider onely what is eſſentiall and neceſſary to it; we ſhall find in it no more but this: An appointment of one man of eminent ſanctity and ſufficiency to have the care of all the Churhes, within a certain Precinct or Dioceſſe; and furniſhing him with authority, not abſolute or arbitrary, but regulated and bounded by lawes, and moderated by joyning to him a convenient number of aſſiſtants. To the intent that all the Churches under him may be provided of good and able Paſtours: and that both of Paſtours and people conformity to lawes and performance of their duties may be required, under penalties, not left to diſcretion, but by law appointed.

To this kind of government I am not by any particular intereſt ſo devoted, as to think it ought to be maintained, either in oppoſition to Apoſtolick inſtitution, or to the much deſired reformation of mens lives, and reſtauration of Primitive diſcipline, or to any law or precept of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: for that were to maintain a means contrary to the end. For obedience to our Saviour is the end for which Church Government is appointed. But if it may be demonſtrated, or made much more probable then the contrary, as I verily think it may: I. That it is not repugnant to

the government setled in and for the Church by the Apostles. II. That it is as complyable with the reformation of any evill which we desire to reform either in Church or State, or the introduction of any good which we desire to introduce, as any other kind of government; And III. That there is no law, no record of our Saviour against it: then I hope it will not be thought an unreasonable motion, if we humbly desire those that are in authority, especially the High Court of Parliament, that it may not be sacrificed to clamour, or over-born by violence: and though (which God forbid) the greater part of the multitude should cry, *Crucifie, Crucifie*, yet our Governours would be so full of Justice and courage, as not to give it up untill they perfectly understand concerning Episcopacy it self, *Quid mali fecit*. I shall speak at this time only of the first of these three points: That Episcopacy is not repugnant to the government setled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apostles. Whereof I conceive this which followes as clear a demonstration, as any thing of this nature is capable of.

That this government was received universally in the Church, either in the Apostles time, or presently after, is so evident and unquestionable, that the most learned adversaries of this government do themselves confesse it.

Petrus Molinæus, in his book *De munere pastorali*, purposely written in defence of the Presbyteriall government, acknowledgeth: That presently after the Apostles times, or even in their time (as Ecclesiasticall story witnesseth) it was ordained, That in every City one of the Presbytery should be called a Bishop, who should have preheminence over his Colleagues; to avoid confusion which oft times ariseth out of equality. And truly this form of government all Churches every where received.

Theodorus Beza, in his Tract *De triplici Episcopatus genere*, confesseth in effect the same thing. For having distinguished Episcopacy into three kinds, *Divine*, *Humane*, and *Satanicall*, and attributing to the second (which he calls *Humane*, but we maintain and conceive to be *Apostolicall*) not only

only a priority of order, but a superiority of power, and authority over other Presbyters, bounded yet by lawes and canons provided against Tyranny: he clearly professeth, that of this kind of Episcopacy is to be understood whatsoever we read concerning the authority of Bishops or Presidents (as *Justin Martyr* calls them) in *Ignatius*, and other more ancient Writers.

Certainly from * these two great defenders of the Presbytery we should never had this free acknowledgement, so prejudiciall to their own pretence, and so advantageous to their adversaries purpose, had not the evidence of clear and undeniable truth enforced them to it. It will not therefore be necessary to spend any time in confuting that uningenuous assertion of the Anonymus Authour of the Catalogue of Testimonies for the equality of Bishops and Presbyters, who affirmes, That their disparity began long after the Apostles times: But we may safely take for granted that which these two learned Adversaries have confessed; and see, whether upon this foundation laid by them, we may not by unanswerable reason raise this superstruction.

"That seing Episcopall Government is confessedly so ancient and so Catholique, it cannot with reason be denyed to be "Apostolique.

For so great a change, as between Presbyteriall Government and Episcopall, could not possibly have prevailed all the world over, in a little time. Had Episcopall Government been an aberration from, or a corruption of the Government left in the Churches by the Apostles, it had been very strange, that it should have been received in any one Church so suddainly, or that it should have prevailed in all for many Ages after. *Variâsse debuerat error Ecclesiarum: quod autem apud omnes unum est, non est erratum, sed traditum.* Had the Churches err'd, they would have varied. What therefore is one and the same amongst all, came not sure by errour, but tradition. Thus *Tertullian* argues very probably from the consent of the Churches of his time, not long after

* To whom two others also from *Geneva* may be added: *Daniel Chamierus* (in Panstratia, tō. 2. lib. 16. cap. 6. sect. 24.) and *Nicol. Vedelius* (Exercitat. 3. in epist. Ignatii ad Philadelph. cap. 14. & Exercit. 8. in epistol. ad Mariam, cap. 3.) which is fully also demonstrated in the former Treatise, by the testimonies of those who wrote in the very next age after the Apostles.

after the Apostles, and that in matter of opinion much more subject to unobserv'd alteration. But that in the frame and substance of the necessary government of the Church, a thing alwayes in use and practice, there should be so suddain a change as presently after the Apostles times, and so universall, as received in all the Churches, this is clearly impossible.

For what universall cause can be assigned or fained of this universall Apostasie? you will not imagine that the Apostles, all or any of them, made any decree for this change, when they were living; or left order for it in any Will or Testament, when they were dying. This were to grant the question; to wit, that the Apostles, being to leave the government of the Churches themselves, and either seeing by experience, or foreseeing by the Spirit of God, the distractions and disorders which would arise from a multitude of equalls, substituted Episcopall government instead of their own. Generall Councells to make a Law for a generall change, for many ages there was none. There was no Christian Emperour, no coercive power over the Church to enforce it. Or if there had been any, we know no force was equall to the courage of the Christians of those times. Their lives were then at command (for they had not then learn't to fight for Christ) but their obedience to any thing against his Law was not to be commanded (for they had perfectly learn't to die for him.) Therefore there was no power then to command this change; or if there had been any, it had been in vain.

What device then shall we study, or to what fountaine shall we reduce this strange pretended alteration? Can it enter into our hearts to think, that all the Presbyters and other Christians then, being the Apostles Schollers, could be generally ignorant of the will of Christ, touching the necessity of a Presbyteriall government? Or dare we adventure to think them so strangely wicked all the world over, as against knowledge and conscience to conspire against it? Imagine the spirit of *Diotrephes* had entered into some or a great many of the Presbyters, and possessed them with an ambitious desire

of

of a forbidden superiority, was it possible they should attempt and atchieve it once without any opposition or contradiction? and besides that the contagion of this ambition should spread it self and prevail without stop or controule, nay, without any noyse or notice taken of it, through all the Churches in the world; all the watchmen in the mean time being so fast asleep, and all the dogges so dumb, that not so much as one should open his mouth against it? But let us suppose (though it be a horrible untruth) that the Presbyters and people then were not so good Christians as the Presbyters are now, that they were generally so negligent to retain the government of Christs Church commanded by Christ, which we now are so zealous to restore: yet certainly we must not forget nor deny that they were men as we are. And if we look upon them but as meer naturall men, yet knowing by experience how hard a thing it is even for policy arm'd with power by many attempts and contrivances, and in a long time to gain upon the liberty of any one people, undoubtedly we shall never entertain so wild an imagination, as that among all the Christian Presbyteries in the world, neither conscience of duty, nor love of liberty, nor averseness from pride and usurpation of others over them, should prevail so much as with any one, to oppose this pretended universall invasion of the Kingdome of Christ and the liberty of Christians.

When I shall see therefore all the fables in the *Metamorphosis* acted and prove stories; when I shall see all the Democraties and Aristocraties in the world lye down and sleep, and awake into Monarchies: then will I begin to believe that Presbyteriall government, having continued in the Church during the Apostles times, should presently after, against the Apostles doctrine and the will of Christ, be whirl'd about like a scene in a masque, and transformed into Episcopacy. In the mean time, while these things remain thus incredible, and in humane reason impossible; I hope I shall have leave to conclude thus. Episcopall government is acknowledged

ledged to have been universally received in the Church, presently after the Apostles times. Between the Apostles times and this presently after, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration. And therefore there was no such alteration as is pretended. And therefore Episcopacy, being confessed to be so ancient and Catholique, must be granted also to be Apostolique. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*



FINIS.